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Dedication

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

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DEDICATION

For S.R.L.

In memory

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS EDITION

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS EDITION

The siglum 'MS', used in the end-notes to a letter, stands for the manuscript source listed in the head-note; if more than one manuscript source is given there, it stands for the first one so listed. Other sigla used in the end-notes to the letters are not presented in this general list of abbreviations; they are specific to each letter, and will be explained in the letter's general note.

A&T	R. Descartes, <i>Œuvres</i> , ed. C. Adam and P. Tannery, rev. edn., 11 vols. (Paris, 1974)
ABL	J. Aubrey, <i>'Brief Lives', chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 and 1696</i> , ed. A. Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898)
Add.	Additional
ADG	Archives départementales de la Gironde, Bordeaux
ADT	Archives départementales du Tarn, Albi
ADTG	Archives départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban
AMB	Archives municipales, Bordeaux
AN	Archives nationales, Paris
<i>Athenae</i>	A. Wood, <i>Athenae oxonienses</i> , ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813–20)
BL	British Library, London

BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
BNC	Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Florence
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BSHPF	Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Paris
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> (London, 1856-)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 63 vols. (London, 1885–1900)
<i>DSB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biography</i> , 18 vols. (New York, 1970–90)
<i>EW</i>	Hobbes, <i>The English Works</i> , ed. W. Molesworth, 11 vols. (London, 1839–45)

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<i>Fasti</i>	A. Wood, <i>Fasti oxonienses; or, Annals of the University of Oxford</i> , 2 vols., appended to vols, iii and iv of Wood, <i>Athenae oxonienses</i> , ed. P. Bliss (London, 1813–20)
f.fr.	fonds français
f.l.	fonds latin
Foster	J. Foster, <i>Alumni oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714</i> , early series, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892)
G.M.	Commentary supplied by Dr Graeme Mitchison
Harl.	Harleian
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>HOC</i>	C. Huygens, <i>Œuvres complètes</i> , 22 vols. (The Hague, 1888–1950)

HW	<i>The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes</i> , ed. H. Warrender et al. (Oxford, 1983-)
KBK	Royal Library, Copenhagen
LUL	Leiden University Library
MC	M. Mersenne, <i>Correspondance</i> , ed. C. de Waard, B. Rochot, and A. Beaulieu, 17 vols. (Paris, 1932–88)
MS	manuscript
n.a.	nouvelle acquisition
n.d.	no date of publication
NLH	Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hanover
n.p.	no place of publication
NRO	Nottinghamshire Record Office, Nottingham
NUL	Nottingham University Library
OC	H. Oldenburg, <i>Correspondence</i> , ed. and tr. A. R. and M. B. Hall, 13 vols. (Madison, Wis., and London, 1965–86)
OCC	Christ Church, Oxford
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 12 vols. (Oxford, 1933)
OL	Hobbes, <i>Opera philosophica quae latine scripsit omnia</i> , ed. W. Molesworth, 5 vols. (London, 1839–45)
OQC	Queen's College, Oxford
OTC	Trinity College, Oxford
OWC	Worcester College, Oxford
PRO	Public Record Office, London
R.Soc.	Royal Society, London
SP	State Papers

Venn & Venn

J. Venn and j. A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1922)



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The Correspondence (1679): The Correspondence

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THE CORRESPONDENCE



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 140 23 January [/2 February] 1660 Hobbes to Samuel Sorbière [from London?] (23 January 1660 - 02 February 1660)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 140 23 JANUARY [/2 FEBRUARY] 1660 HOBBS TO SAMUEL SORBIÈRE [FROM LONDON?]

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 149^r (transcript).

Printed in *Illustrum virorum epistolae*, pp. 572²–573² (sigs. Bb1^v–2^r); Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', p. 213.

Thomas Hobbius Samueli Sorberio suo

Literas tuas datas Lutetiae pridie Cal. Jan. accepi septimana proximè superiore,¹ Alterae vero illae quas scribts dedisse te antè de obitu Boscij (nescio cujus culpa) perlatae non sunt. Sed quae scire nollem nunquam mihi videntur serò nuntiari. Mortem amicissimi viri aegrè tuli. Sed cum omnia fato ferantur necessario, vnus obitus diù flendus non est, ne non satis temporis habeamus ad lugendos plures. Nam quotidie fere eripitur nobis aliquid, praesertim senibus, eorum quae habent charissima. Gratias age à me Domino de la Mouliniere quod mea defenderit.² Quod attinet ad objectionem quam ad me transmisisti, illam rectè soluit, praesertim solutione secunda, quâ ostendit Judaeorum leges sub Praesidibus Romanis integras mansisse, et iudicia, vt prius, fuisse penes Synodum; ijs controuersijs tantum ad cognitionem Praesidum relatis quae ad ad *συμμαχίαν* et ad tributa pertinebant. Si mihi librum tuum nuper editum³ transmiseris, gratissimum facies. Tua enim digna sunt quae legantur omnia. Vale Charissime Sorberi & perge fauere

Tuo

Tho. Hobbes

Jan. 23. 1660

Translation of Letter 140

Thomas Hobbes to his friend Samuel Sorbière.

I received last week your letter of 31 December from Paris.¹ The other letter which you say you sent before du Bosc's death did not reach me: I do not know who is to blame for this. But news which I do not wish to know can never, I think, be too slow in coming. I was saddened to hear of the death of a man who was a very dear friend. But since fate necessarily carries off all things, we should not mourn too long over one death; otherwise we should have too little time to mourn

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for others. For almost every day something is taken from us—especially from old men, who lose some of the things they hold most dear.

Give my thanks to M. de la Moulinière for defending my works.² As for the objection which you sent me, he solved it correctly, especially in his second solution, where he showed that under the Roman governors the laws of the Jews remained the same and cases continued to be decided in the Synod, with only those disputes being referred to the governor which concerned taxes and the alliance.

If you send me the book of yours which has recently been published,³ I shall be most grateful. For all your works deserve to be read. Farewell, dearest Sorbière, and continue to look kindly on

Your
Thomas Hobbes

23 January 1660

NOTES

1 This letter has not apparently survived (see Letter 139).

2 See *ibid.*

3 *Lettres et discours.*



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 141 [21/] 31 March 1660 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (21 March 1660 - 31 March 1660)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 141 [21/] 31 MARCH 1660 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 299^v–300^r (transcript).

Quod diù flendus non sit Amici vnus obitus, ne non satis temporis habeamus ad lugendos plures, quemadmodum scripsisti nuper,¹ Vir Clarissime, cùm de obitu Boscij nostri ageretur, id nunc probat Prataei funus immaturum,² Alterum istud carissimum Caput appetente Vere nuper amisimus, nec dolori nostro modus vllus fuisset nisi sapientissima ilia verba tua ad ferendum casum acerbissimum vt deest non molles viros nos erexissent. Visus tu mihi adesse θεός ἀπὸ μηχανῆς & eo quidem tempore quo molestisstmis negotijs implicitus veteribus omnibus interioris notae Amicis nostratibus superesse mihi videbar; nam [quid]³ numerem inter Amicos vel suffenos illos & sibi solis malè sapientes qui nos fortè despiciunt humi repentes, vel nescio quos alios, qui de nugis tantùm agere soliti, gigni de nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reuerti,⁴ a rebus sertjs vel propùs ad nos spectantibus animum semper auertunt. Quid ego sanè de Amicitia sentiam exponet tibi Libellus iste meus,⁵ quem Tabellario tradidi, quem verò expressit sedando luctui Prataei mei desiderium. Amicos veteres vndiquaque renouando foederi compellare, vel nouos reparandae veterum jacturae

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mihi conciliare volui. Quod nisi ex voto cedat, non inanem tamen operam adhibuerim in recreando vtcunque inter scribendum animo. Quid autem reipsa praestiterim, an verò operae pretium fuerit talia in Angliam & ad te transmittere qui in mentis humanae recessus omnes pridem descendisti, tuum erit judicare. Si quid enim solidum crepet Dissertatiuncula nostra, totum illud numeris tui est, quippe quae Principijs tuis Politicis tota innititur. Redeunt itaque ad Hobbium riuuli Sapientiae, quos irrigando intellectui meo deduxeram veluti flumina

ad Oceanum. Nempe tu parens Politicae, primus in studijs istis, quod Galileus in Physicis, nugari desijsti, & quod alij sparsim, temeré, caligantésque protulerunt; tu primus agmine denso, & defecato ingenio in ordinem digessisti. Vt nemo deinceps qui sapere audeat, dubitare possit, vel propriâ doctus experientiâ cerrissima esse & comprobatissima quae de statu Naturae & Imperij asseruisti. Sed laudum tuarum praecomium hîc loci fateor non statut, qui calculo nostro non eges ad tuendam Summi Viri famam, nec meum est ambire pluribus amicitiam tuam, de qua vnice securus dego, quanquam in ista orbitate mea solatium ex literis tuis quaeram. Vale igitur & me amare perseuera.

Parisijs pridie Kal. Aprilis 1660.

Translation of Letter 141

Most excellent Sir,

What you wrote recently about the death of our friend du Bosc¹— that we must not mourn too long over the death of one friend, lest we should have too little time to lament the death of others—is now confirmed by the untimely death of du Prat.² Recently, just as spring was drawing near, we lost that dearest person; and my grief would have been unbounded, had not those extremely wise words of yours lifted me up to bear the bitterest calamity in a way that befits men who are not weaklings. You seemed to come to me like a *deus ex machina*, and at the very moment when, tied up in the most troublesome affairs, I seemed to have outlived all my old intimate friends from this country. For how⁽³⁾ am I to number among my friends either those superficial writers, who, knowing only their own thoughts (imperfectly), happen to despise people like us who try to get back to ordinary facts, or those various other people who are used to dealing only in trifles (nothing can come of nothing, nothing can revert to nothing),⁴ and who always

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turn aside from serious things, or from things which are of more concern to us?

That little book of mine,⁵ which I sent to you by post, can tell you what I really think about friendship; indeed, I wrote it out of my desire to calm my grief over my friend du Prat. I wanted both to invite my old friends everywhere to renew their alliance with me, and to win new friends to make up the loss of the old. If this does not turn out according to my wish, I shall still not have wasted my time, having refreshed my spirit while I was writing. But what I may in fact have accomplished, and whether it was really worth sending such a thing to England, and to you, who plumbed the human mind to its very depths long ago—that will be for you to judge. For if my little dissertation says anything of value, that is all thanks to you, since it is all based on your political principles. In this way the streams of wisdom, which I

diverted to irrigate my own understanding, flow back towards Hobbes, like rivers towards the ocean.

You are indeed the father of politics and its leading expert, the person who, like Galileo in physics, put an end to empty quibbling on that subject; and what others had put forward in a desultory, ill-grounded, and obfuscating way, you with your lucid intelligence organized into a tightly ordered formation. So henceforth no seeker after truth, and no one who has learned from his own experience, will be able to doubt that what you have asserted about the state of nature and the state of dominion is absolutely certain and proven. But I admit that I have not decided to eulogize you here, you who do not need my vote to protect your reputation as such a great man; nor is it any business of mine to go round canvassing the people's votes for your friendship. For your friendship is the one thing over which I feel no anxiety—even though in my bereavement I may seek comfort from your letters. So farewell, and continue to love me.

Paris, 31 March 1660

NOTES

1 See Letter 140.

2 Abraham du Prat died on [23 Feb./] 4 Mar. 1660 (Sorbière, *Relations, lettres*, p. 301).

3 qui *MS*.

4 It is not clear from the syntax whether this is an example of these people's trifling philosophical principles, or a comment on them.

5 Unidentified; possibly a prior, separate printing of one of the items from *Lettres et discours* or *Relations, lettres*.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 142 [2/] 12 May 1661 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes [from Paris] (02 May 1661 - 12 May 1661)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 142 [2/] 12 MAY 1661 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS [FROM PARIS]*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 281^v–282^r (transcript).

Clarissimo, Doctissimoque Viro D. Thomae Hobbio, Samuel Sorberius

Recreauit me aduolans ex Anglia Prataei Nepos¹ cū significauit & te bene valere, Vir Clarissime, nec nostri immemorem degere. Certè si mihi compertum fuisset te Londinum sub Regis Coronationem² venturum, & ipse Londinum petijssem. Sed ab obitu Boscij nihil ego à te audiui,³ quanquam superueniente etiam Prataei mei desiderio quid sperassem ex literis tuis solatij. Non puto autem vltimas meas Epistolas in manus tuas peruenisse. Itaque en tibi Apographum⁴ vt binas expectare debeam, cū nullas omninò dederis, & ne librum quidem Dialogorum ad Verdusium,⁵ qui egregiam tamen habebas mittendi occasionem. Tales si se vltrò praeberent, ego meos non inuiderem tibi qualescunque, sed in quibus passim meum erga te animum, vel ambitiosè ostentare soleo, adeò vt neminem in Gallia spectare possis cultorem virtutis tuae magis sedulum, vel ingenij tui admiratorem magis indefessum. Quidquid igitur a Tractatu tuo de Homine scripseris vtraque linguâ, & vel Leuiathanum ipse, quaeso, trans mitte, tua quippe interest, vt opinionum tuarum propugnatori arma nulla desint. Ego vicissim mea omnia tradam. Caeterum quandoquidem hic percrebuit de recentissima Academia Physicorum Londiniensium⁶ quod inter reperiuntur Magnates & Principes, quae plurima minatur Experimenta, scribe quid omnino sperandum, quidue illud rerum sit, aut quorum praecipuè spes nostrae inniti debeant doctrinae & sagacitati. Nec patere deinceps, Vir Amicissime, vt elabantur menses complures nullo inter nos facto literarum commercio. Indignum illud videtur amicitia nostrâ veteri, studijs nostris communibus, necnon Virtutibus quas vnà colimus, & quidem inter paucos; quotusquisque

enim jam superest qui Rempublicam viderit,⁷ qui suauiissimis Mersenni & Gassendi tecum alloquijs interfuerit. Velim igitur vt mei rationem aliquam vltiorem habeas, & me inter paucos amare perseueres, qui te olim in numerum Triumvirorum reposuerim, nunc verò te summum Philosophiae Dictatorem praedicem. Vale

XII Maij 1661

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Translation of Letter 142

Samuel Sorbière to the very learned and distinguished Mr Thomas Hobbes.

Du Prat's nephew¹ delighted me when he told me on his sudden return from England that you are well, distinguished Sir, and that you have not ceased to remember me. Indeed, if I had been informed that you would go to London about the time of the King's coronation,² I too would have travelled to London. But I have heard nothing from you since du Bosc's death,³ although du Prat has shared my desire for the consolation which I hoped to receive from your letters. I think, however, that my last letter did not reach you. So here is a copy for you,⁴ which means that I should expect to receive two replies—since you have not sent anything at all, not even that book of dialogues dedicated to du Verdus,⁵ although you had an exceptional opportunity to send it. If you were to send me that sort of thing of your own accord, I should not begrudge you any of my books, such as they are. Throughout my books it is my habit (vainly, perhaps) to display my enthusiasm for you, so that it would be impossible to find anywhere in France a more zealous worshipper of your virtues or a more tireless admirer of your intellect. So please send me of your own accord whatever you have written of your treatise *De homme*, in either language, or indeed the *Leviathan*. It is in your own interest that the champion of your doctrines should not lack any weapons. In turn, I shall send you all of mine.

In addition, since some news has reached us here of the very recently formed London Academy of Physical Sciences,⁶ whose members include magnates and princes, and which threatens to undertake numerous experiments, please tell me what at all we can expect from it, what sort of thing it is, and on whose acuteness and theories we can set our hopes. From now on, my dearest friend, I hope whole months will not go by without any exchange of letters between us. That would be unworthy of our old friendship, the studies which we share, and the virtues which we both cultivate. Indeed, we are among the few who cultivate them; there are so few of us left who knew our Republic,⁷ and who took part in our delightful conversations with Mersenne, Gassendi, and yourself. So I should like you to keep up your

regard for me, and continue to love me as one of your closest friends—I who once regarded you as a Triumvir, but now proclaim you the sovereign Dictator of Philosophy. Farewell.

12 May 1661

NOTES

1 François du Prat (nephew of Abraham) who, having accompanied the Earl of Devonshire's elder son on a tour of Europe, had returned to England and received a final payment from the Earl at Hardwick on 8 [/18] Mar. 1661 (see the Biographical Register).

2 Although the King had been proclaimed in London on 8/18 May 1660, and had entered the capital on 29 May/8 June 1660, the coronation was not held until 23 Apr./3 May 1661.

3 Meaning, evidently, since receiving Letter 140.

4 Letter 141.

5 *Examinatio et emendatio*.

6 The inaugural meeting of the Royal Society took place on 28 Nov. [/8 Dec] 1660; thereafter weekly meetings were held, usually at Gresham College in London.

7 This is a reminiscence of Tacitus, *Annales*, 1. 3: 'Quotusquisque reliquus qui Rem Publicam vidisset.'



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

John Aubrey, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 143 30 August [/9 September] 1661 John Aubrey to Hobbes, from Easton Pierse (Wilts.) (30 August 1661 – 09 September 1661)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 143 30 AUGUST [/9 SEPTEMBER] 1661 JOHN AUBREY TO HOBBS, FROM EASTON PIERSE (WILTS.)

MS in an extra-illustrated copy of Weld, *History of the Royal Society* (ii, following p. 246), in the Executive Secretary's office at the Royal Society.

Printed in *The European Magazine*, 34 (November 1798), p. 307; Britton, *Memoir of Aubrey*, pp. 37–8.

Worthy Sir,

I am newly returned into Wiltes; I did not visit Derby shire, supposing you were not there; I have deferred that journey till I here from Mr. Croke,¹ whom I haue desired to giue me notice when you will be there: From N. Wales I went into Ireland,² where I saw the manner of living of the Natives, scorning industry and luxury, contenting themselves only wth things necessary. That Kingdom is in a very great distemper, and hath need of yo^r Advice to settle it; the animosities between the English and Irish are very great, and will ere long (I am confident) breake into a Warr.

S^r you haue donne me so much honour in yo^r acquaintance, and civilities that I want language to expresse my thankfulness: among other favours I particularly returne you my hearty thanks for the trouble I gave you to sitt for your Picture,³ w^{ch} is an honor I am not worthy of, & I beg yo^r pardon for my great boldnes, but I assure you no man living more prizes it, nor hath greater Devotion for You [> then my selfe]. Your Brother⁴ I heare is well, whom I intend to see on monday next, and shall wth him sacrifice to your health in a glasse of sack. Thus

entreating yo^r excuse for this scribled paper, I wish you all happines, and am wth all my heart

S^r

Your most affectionate friend and most humble servant

John Aubrey.

Easton-Pierse.⁵ [*page torn Au*]g. 3th. 1661.

[*addressed:*] These for his most honoured friend M^r Thomas Hobbes at the Earle of Devonshires at Salisbury howse⁶ in the Strand. post p^d.

[*endorsed:*] M^r Aubrey Aug. 30th 1661.

NOTES

1 Andrew Crooke (see the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke').

2 Aubrey had travelled to Ireland in July 1661 with his friend the antiquary Anthony Ettrick (see the Biographical Register).

3 Probably the portrait by Samuel Cooper which was purchased by Charles II and was seen by Sorbière in the King's study in 1663 (Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage*, p. 97). Daphne Foscett writes that this is 'supposedly' the portrait now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio (*Samuel Cooper*, p. 38); however, another portrait of Hobbes by Cooper was mentioned in a list of pictures in the possession of Cooper's widow in 1677 (Crinò, *Fatti e figure*, p. 328). This is more probably to be identified with the Cleveland picture, which is unfinished; Aubrey described the portrait purchased by the King as 'one of the best pieces that ever he [sc. Cooper] did' (*ABL* i, p. 338). Another portrait of Hobbes, by J. B. Caspars, was owned by Aubrey and presented by him to the Royal Society in 1670. A note in Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fo. 54^v, recalls: 'He did, anno 16.. (vide the date, which is on the backside) doe me the honour to sitt for his picture to Jo. Baptist Caspars, an excellent painter, and 'tis a good piece.' Another note in *ibid.*, fo. 7^v, however, gives the date of this portrait as 1663.

4 Hobbes's elder brother Edmund, a glover in Malmesbury: Aubrey described him as 'a good plain understanding countrey-man' (*ibid.*, fo. 31^r).

5 Aubrey's ancestral home, in north Wilts.

6 Salisbury House, on the north side of the Strand, just below Covent Garden, was the London residence of the Earl of Devonshire during the early 1660s, rented by him from his brother-in-law, the third Earl of Salisbury.



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François du Prat, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 144 21 September [/1 October] 1661 François du Prat to Hobbes, from London (21 September 1661 - 01 October 1661)

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LETTER 144 21 SEPTEMBER [/1 OCTOBER] 1661 FRANÇOIS DU PRAT TO HOBBS, FROM LONDON

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 52 (original).

Monsieur,

Je receus par le dernier ordinaire une lettre de M^r Sorbier par laquelle il me prie de ne laisser pas tomber en d'autres mains le tresor

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que vous lui donnés Et que je me suis chargé de lui envoyer Comme il y a desja dix ou douze jours que sa lettre est escrete, Je croi qu'il aura presentement receu les livres, les ayant mis mot mesme dans le coffre de la petite Kilgré,¹ qui partit il y eut hier quinze jours; Du moins suisje asseuré qu'ils ont passé la mer, car nous eusmes hier nouvelles de l'arrivée de la petite Dem.^{lle} à Dieppe. J'ai escrit à Mr. Sorbier pour le tirer hors de sa peine, et pour lui faire savoir où il faudra qu'il envoie querir ses livres. Je lui ai aussi communiqué [> le] [word deleted] dessein [> que j'ai] de traduire votre Leviathan; et l'ai prié de songer comment nous pourrions faire pour le faire imprimer en France ou en Hollande: Il a beaucoup de connoissances avec les gens qui ecrivent de l'un et de l'autre pays et me peut fort bien conseiller là dessus. Et d'ailleurs, Je suis resolu devant que de le donner au public, de le faire voir à de mes amis de Paris, affin qu'ils m'en disent leurs sentimens, Parce que [three words deleted] > J'ai peur] que [> pendant] mon absence de Paris depuis trois ou quatre ans et pendant mes voyages dans les pays etrangers et mon sejour en celui-ci,² mon langage n'ait contracté quelque chose de peu François, ce qu'il est encore plus malaisé déviter dans une traduction que dans une simple composition et dans le langage ordinaire. Or vous savés, Monsieur, que d'aller faire imprimer du François qui ne fust pas du meilleur, quand on peut

avec l'aide d'un ami ou de deux en debiter de fort bon, ce seroit faire tort à votre ouvrage et dérober à mes lecteurs ces expressions si nettes si pures et si belles que lon trouve dans votre Anglois. Je vous prie de me faire savoir de vos nouvelles, de celles de toute la maison et particulièrement de Mad.^e Anne,³ et de M.^r Charles⁴ à qui je baise treshumblement et tresaffecti[onné? *page torn*] les mains; Je suis

Monsieur

Vostre treshumble et tresaff.^{ne} serviteur

Du Pratt

A Londres ce 21^e Sept.^{re} 1661

[*addressed:*] For my most honor'd & very worthie friend M.^r Hobbes. Latimers⁵

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] M.^r du Prat.

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Translation of Letter 144

Sir,

I received by the last ordinary post a letter from M. Sorbière, begging me not to allow anyone else to get hold of the treasure which you are giving him and which I have undertaken to send him. Given that his letter was written ten or twelve days ago, I think he will have received the books by now, since I myself put them in young Miss Killigrew's¹ trunk when she left here fifteen days ago. At least I am assured that they got across the Channel, as we received news yesterday that the young lady had arrived at Dieppe. I have written to M. Sorbière to put him out of his anxiety, and to tell him from where he should have his books fetched. I also told him of my plan to translate your *Leviathan*, and I asked him to give his thoughts to the question of how we might get it printed in France or Holland. He has a wide acquaintance with writers from both countries, and can give me excellent advice on the matter. Besides, I have decided to show it to my friends in Paris before presenting it to the public, so that they can give me their opinions of it. Having been away from Paris for three or four years and having travelled in foreign lands and stayed in England,² I am afraid that my French may have become rather unidiomatic-something which is less easy to avoid in a translation than in an original composition or in ordinary speech. Now, as you know, Sir, to have it printed in a French version which was not of the best, when it could easily be perfected with the help of a friend or two, would be to do an injustice to your work and to deprive my readers of those expressions of yours which are so clear, so pure, and so fine in the English. I beg you to tell me your news, and the news of the whole household, especially Miss Anne³ and Mr Charles,⁴ whose hands I kiss most humbly and most affectionately; I am,

Sir,
Your most humble and most affectionate servant,
du Prat.

London, 21 September 1661

[*addressed: see text*]

NOTES

² For du Prat's travels see the Biographical Register.

³ Anne Cavendish (1640–1703), daughter of the third Earl of Devonshire, who later married first Charles, Lord Rich (son of the second Earl of Warwick), and secondly John, Lord Burghley (later fifth Earl of Exeter).

⁴ Charles Cavendish (d. 1671), second son of the third Earl of Devonshire.

⁵ The country house of the Earl of Devonshire, in Bucks.



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Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 145 9 [/19] February 1662 Hobbes to Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness of Newcastle (09 February 1662 - 19 February 1662)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 145 9 [/19] FEBRUARY 1662 *HOBBS TO MARGARET CAVENDISH, MARCHIONESS OF NEWCASTLE*

MS unknown.

Printed in *Letters and Poems in Honour of Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle*, p. 67; Tönnies, 'Analekten', p. 305.

Madam,

I have received, from your Excellence, the Book¹ you sent me by Mr. *Benoist*;² which obliges me to trouble you with a short expression of my thanks, and of the sense I have of your extraordinary Favour. For tokens of this kind are not ordinarily sent but to such as pretend to the title as well as to the mind of Friends. I have already read so much of it (in that Book which my Lord of *Devonshire* has) as to give your Excellence an [account]³ of it thus far, That it is filled throughout with more and truer Idea's of Virtue and Honour than any Book of morality I have read. And if some Comique Writer, by conversation with ill People, have been able to present Vices upon the Stage more ridiculously & immodestly, by which they take their rabble, I reckon that amongst your Praises. For that which most pleases lewd Spectators is nothing but subtile Cheating or Filch, which a high and noble mind endued with Virtue from it's Infancy can never come to the knowledge of. I Rest

Your Excellencies most humble Servant

Thomas Hobbes.

Febr, 9. 1661

NOTES

¹ See the general note, above.

² Marc-Antoine Benoît (1605–88) was born at Montauban, where his father was a Protestant pastor and professor, and he studied theology at the Academy there (BSHPF MS 397/1, fo. 229). He later studied at Geneva, before moving to England; by 1641 he was in the service of the Earl of Newcastle as a tutor to his sons (Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, p. 88). He remained in the service of the Newcastles throughout the Interregnum. He was also in contact with his fellow Montalbanais Thomas de Martel: in 1669, while at Bridgwater House in London (home of the Duke of Newcastle's second daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Bridgwater), he forwarded a letter from de Martel to Oldenburg (OC v, p. 484). Benoît was naturalized in 1678 (Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization*, p. 119), and died in 1688 in London (de France, *Les Montalbanais et le refuge*, p. 85).

³ accout 1676.



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Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 146 3 [/13] March 1662 Hobbes to Samuel Sorbière, from London (03 March 1662 - 13 March 1662)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 146 3 [/13] MARCH 1662 *HOBBS TO SAMUEL SORBIÈRE, FROM LONDON*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 153^v (transcript).

Printed in *Illustrium virorum epistolae*, pp. 590–1; Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', pp. 213–14.

Thomas Hobbius Samueli Sorberio. S.

Amicissime, doctissime Sorberi, Epistolarum tuarum volumen¹ omni genere doctrinae refertissimum perlegi, relegi, et dum sententiam tuam auidé expecto de ijs quae nuper tibi scripsi circa experimenta Londini nuper exhibita in Collegio Greshamensi, saepius legam. Inter multa quae sparsim in libris tuis testimonia honorifica de me inuenio (nam videris mihi vbique data opera existimationem meam tueri, et promouere velle) nihil libentiùs legi quàm finem Epistolae quartae a pagina 146. ad paginam 173.² Nam quae ibi scripsisti sufficient mihi (Si opus est Latiné versa) etiam sola responsuro ad librum quem Chymistarum quidam nostratiùm breui (vt audio) editurus est contra libellum ilium quem tibi dedicaui³ Summas ergo tibi gratias habeo, et semper habiturus sum tam insignis beneuolentiae; quam vt putes mutuam, et recté collocatam summo studio efficere conabor, vale.

Tui amantissimus et seruus
Thomas. Hobbes.

Londini 3. die mensis Martij 1661.

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Translation of Letter 146

Thomas Hobbes to his friend Samuel Sorbière.

Dearest and most learned Sorbière, I have read through and reread the book of your letters,¹ which is crammed with every sort of teaching; and I shall read it more frequently while I eagerly await your opinion of those things which I wrote to you recently about the experiments at Gresham College in London. Among the many honorific references to me which I find scattered through your books (for you seem everywhere willing to labour devotedly to protect and promote my reputation), none pleased me more than the end of the fourth letter, pp. 146–73.² For what you wrote there would alone suffice (translated into Latin, if necessary) as my reply to the book which a certain one of our chemical theorists is (as I hear) about to publish against that little book which I dedicated to you.³ So I am and always shall be immensely grateful to you for such outstanding kindness; and I shall try as hard as I can to persuade you that such kindness is well employed, and mutual. Farewell.

Your most loving servant,
Thomas Hobbes

London, 3 March 1661

NOTES

¹ *Relations, lettres.*

² In this section of his fourth letter (an account of science in Holland (ibid., pp. 103–94)), Sorbière argues that chemists perform a useful service in accumulating empirical knowledge, but that this does not qualify them to theorize about the structure of matter; 'most arguments in chemistry are very faulty: either they are meaningless, or they make ill-founded suppositions' ('la pluspart des raisonnemens Chymiques sont tres-defectueux: Car ou ils ne signifient rien du tout, ou ils supposent mal' (pp. 168–9)). However, his strictures on illogicality and jargon are directed mainly at Paracelsians, Helmontians, and cabbalists. Hobbes did in fact quote a passage (in English translation) from p. 167 of Sorbière's book in *Mr. Hobbes Considered*, which he published later in 1662 (pp. 52–3; *EW* iv, pp. 435–6).

³ The book Hobbes dedicated to Sorbière was *Dialogus physicus* (1661); Boyle's reply was *An Examen of Mr T. Hobbes his Dialogus Physicus* (1662). It was published within days of the writing of this letter: Sir Robert Moray sent a copy to Huygens on 6 [/16] Mar. 1662 (*HOC* iv, p. 95).



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence (1679): Letter 147* [17/] 27 March 1662 Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (17 March 1662 - 27 March 1662)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 147 [17/] 27 MARCH 1662 *SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 53 (original); BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 298^v–299 (transcript).

Viro clarissimo et Amicisstmo¹ D. THOMAE HOBBIIO Samuel Sorberius S.²

Condonabis, Vir sapientissime, homini ciuilibus undis immerso responsi mei retardationem, ad ea quae in Dialogo de Natura Aeris³ mihi inscripto in medium non ita pridem protulisti. Semel enim atque iterum scripsi per Prataeum⁴ nostrum, meditari me nescio quid paulò fusiùs diductum, tum ut Tibi gratias referam, tum ut Tibi tandem, quod diu gestii, ansam praebeam objectiunculas remouendi, quae prohibent, ne in supposita rerum uniuersitate corporibus plena placidè conquiescam. Sed opus est, antequam me ad id operis accingam, ut prius relegam noua Boili experimenta,⁵ & tua demum ratiocinia attentius considerem. Habebis igitur breui quae noua uenient, uel quae pridem cogitata in mentem redierint. Et mihi sanè calcar ad scribendum addit, stimulatque ingenii mei tarditatem posterior epistola tua. Significasti enim, non tibi displicuisse scribendi genus liberum, & amoenitatibus nonnullis interspersum, quo quidem usus sum in Relationibus meis ad Bautruos,⁶ Quid autem suaserit, ut stilum eò conuerterem, & quasi ludibundus seria tractarem, libenter edisseram. Nauci ego studia mea non facerem, nisi me exhilararent, & aeu quod superest eorum beneficio leniùs flueret. Itaque compositis rebus domesticis, comparato utrinque (a fortuna scilicet, & a bona mente) uiatiko ad senectutis deserta minus incommodè peragrandam, omnis in eo sum ut scriptitando me delectam, rogitumque quid uerum atque decens, condam uerò & componar quae mox, si res postulet, depromere possim.⁷ Qua in re exemplum tuum sequor, Senex optime, qui septuagenario major [> tam] alacriter pergis in studio literario, ut palmam praeripere contendas junioribus eodem loci decurrentibus;

Roberto, inquam, Boilo, Christiano Hugenio, & aliis viris magnis, quos inter non numero Chymistas illos quos memoras:⁸ Nam si qui sunt alii Metaphysicam inuehentes rerum naturalium tractationi, non moror ego hujusmodi nugiuendulos. Vnum deoscular Gassendum meum, ad quem quo quisque philosophantium propius accedit, eè pluris à me fieri solet; à quo uerò si quis longè recedat, nihil equidem curo

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aberrantem me fatigando assequi, quem in uiam reuocare [> frustra]⁹ conarer, nequaquam monitis meis parituum: Atque adeo, Nee tardum operior nec praecedentibus insto:¹⁰ sed ago quod ago, & dum animo meo obsequor est unde felicitatem nonnullam consequar. Habes paucis uitae meae & scribendi rationem. Tu fac semper, quaeso, ut hilariter degas, & me uicissim redamas. Vale, Vir Summe,

Scribebam Lutetiae Paris, a.d. VI. Kal. April. cDDcLXII¹¹.

[addressed:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Hobbes chez M^r Andre Crook¹² marchand libraire au dragon uerd Londres

[endorsed by James Wheldon:] Mons^r Sorbiers. Apr. 1662

Translation of Letter 147

Samuel Sorbière sends greetings⁽²⁾ to his dearest friend, the most distinguished⁽¹⁾ Mr Thomas Hobbes.

O wisest of men, I have been up to my eyes in social duties, and you will therefore excuse my delay in replying to the points you raised not so long ago in your *Dialogus de natura aeris*,³ which you dedicated to me. I wrote via our friend du Prat,⁴ both then and later, to say that I was thinking of setting out something at slightly greater length, in which I would not only thank you but also—and this is something I have wanted to do for a long time—give you an opportunity to remove certain minor doubts which prevent me from easily agreeing with your theory that the physical universe is filled with matter. However, before I gird myself for that task, I must first of all read over Boyle's *New Experiments*⁵ again, and then consider your arguments more carefully. So it will not be long before you have my new thoughts—or my old thoughts, if they return to my mind. And indeed your last letter stimulates my sluggish mind and spurs me on to write. For you have indicated that you do not mind my writing so freely and sprinkling my letters with pleasantries—a style I used in my narratives addressed to the de Bautrus.⁶

I shall willingly explain why I adopted that style of discussing serious matters in a joking way. I should not care a straw for my studies if they did not give me great happiness and cause the rest of my life to flow more smoothly. So, having settled my domestic affairs, and having acquired from two sources (namely good fortune and a good mind) the

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wherewithal to travel in greater comfort through the desert of old age, I devote myself to writing for my own pleasure and enquiring after what is true and honest. I seek 'to establish and lay up things which I shall later bring forth, if the occasion should demand it'⁷ In this I am following your example, best of old men—you who, in your seventies, are keeping up your literary labours with such vigour that you are in the running to carry off the prize from younger competitors such as Robert Boyle, Christiaan Huygens, and other great men. Among the others I do not include the chemical writers you refer to;⁸ if there are other writers who encroach on metaphysics in their treatment of physics, I have no time for people of this sort who deal in fripperies. The one person I especially praise is my dear Gassendi. The more closely any one of these philosophers resembles Gassendi, the higher my regard for him; and if he differs widely from Gassendi I do not care to exhaust myself in following his mistaken path, knowing that there would be no point⁽⁹⁾ in trying to call him back to the true way, since he will not heed my warnings. Thus 'I neither wait for those behind me, nor

kick the heels of those in front.¹⁰ But I do what I do, and while I satisfy my own inclinations I give myself considerable happiness. There, in short, is the rationale of my life and my writings. I beg you always to live happily, and to return my affection. Farewell, greatest of men.

Paris, 27 March 1662⁽¹¹⁾

[*addressed:*] To Mr Hobbes, at the house of Mr Andrew Crooke,¹² bookseller, at the Green Dragon, London.

NOTES

² *S. omitted in BN.*

¹ *Viro Doctissimo BN.*

³ *Dialogus physicus, sive de natura aeris* (1661), dedicated to Sorbière.

⁴ François du Prat.

⁵ Hobbes's *Dialogus physicus* was largely devoted to criticizing Boyle's *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall* (1660); Sorbière would have read this work in the Latin translation, *Nova experimenta physico-mechanica*, published at both Oxford and The Hague in 1661.

⁶ Letter 4 in Sorbière's *Relations, lettres* (see Letter 146 n. 2), his account of science in Holland, was addressed to Guillaume de Bautru, a prominent courtier and literary patron, and a close friend of de La Mothe le Vayer (Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 137). Other letters in *Relations, lettres* were addressed to other members of de Bautru's family, such as his nephew, the marquis de Vaubrun, comte de Nogent.

⁷ Horace, *Epistolae*, 1. 1. 12.

⁸ Chemical writers are not mentioned in *Dialogus physicus*; so this is probably a reference to Hobbes's description of Boyle as 'one of our chemical theorists' in Letter 146.

⁹ *frustra omitted in BN.*

¹⁰ Horace, *Epistolae*, 1. 2. 71.

¹¹ Parisijs VI. Kalendas Aprilis 1662 *BN.*

¹² See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.



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Christiaan Huygens, Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 148 August 1662 Christiaan Huygens to Andrew Crooke for Hobbes (August 1662)

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LETTER 148 AUGUST 1662 CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS TO ANDREW CROOKE FOR HOBBS

Chatsworth, Hobbes MS E. 4 (original letter, as sent); LUL MS Hug. Cod. 4, fo. 53^v (draft).

Printed (from the draft) in *HOC* iv, pp. 203–5.

Censura missa ad bibliopolam Hobbij uti ipse petierat.

In duplicatione cubi Hobbiana quae una cum Problematibus Physicis edita est¹ recte satis se habent omnia usque ad verum illum pag. 117. *Ergo ducta XT et producta, incidet in Z*. Hoc enim ex praemissis non sequitur neque verum est. Recte autem sic dixisset, *Ergo ducta XT et producta usque in rectam YP, ipsa quoque bifariam secabitur a recta aT*. Hinc vero nunquam efficietur XT productam incidere in Z; neque illud proinde, punctum X esse in circumferentia circuli YZV, unde et reliqua pendet demonstratio. Videtur autem auctori imposuisse quod producta XT tam prope incidit in Z ut oculis discrimen notare nequiverit. Sed mirum est non animaduertisse illum vitiosam esse demonstrationem in qua nulla fieret mentio ejus quod in constructionem problematis adsumptum fuerat, nempe quod AS aequalis ponebatur semidiagonali AI. hoc enim necessario demonstrationem ingredi debuerat, si bona esset.

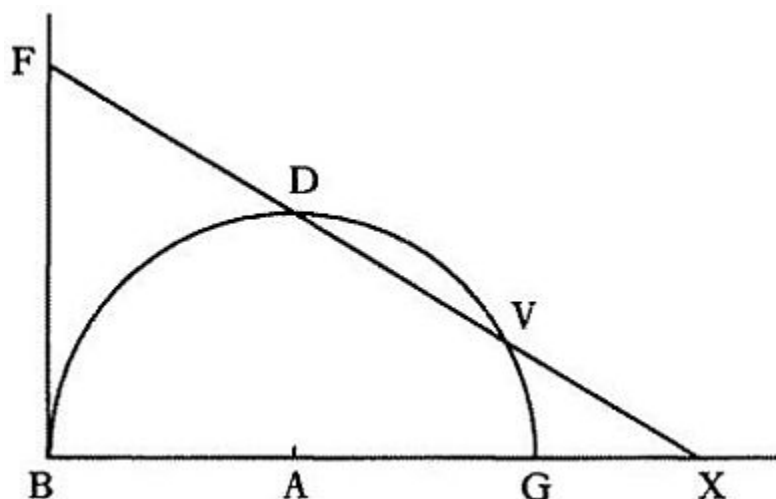
Porro calculi Arithmetici usum, ad explorandam geometricam constructionem injuria rejicere videtur.²

Ad quadraturam circuli³ quod attinet, vitium in demonstratione manifestum est pag. 130, ubi dicitur, *Quoties ergo eg in ef toties et co sinus arcus Bo in recta ct, et toties ipse arcus Bo in arcu BD*. Non enim in arcubus quibusvis haec proportio vera est, licet arcus BS sit $\frac{1}{3}$

arcus BD sicut et recta Bi $\frac{1}{3}$ rectae BF. Alteram demonstrationem non expendi, cum scirem non posse hac prima meliorem esse, siquidem aliunde mihi constet falsum esse id quod probandum suscipitur, arcui nimirum BD aequalem esse rectam BF. Ostendi enim in ijs quae de Circuli

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magnitudine edidi, BF semper maiorem esse arcu BD, quando VX aequalis est radio semicirculi BDG. Quando autem XG eidem radio aequalis est, semper rectam BF minorem esse arcu BD.⁴



Quod Wallisius scripserit rationem 5 ad 12 superare rationem 1 ad 3 ratione 1 ad 12, non est credibile hoc eum per errorem⁵ fecisse, sed quod pro additione rationum eam quoque habuerit quae fit addendo fractiones quae quantitatem rationum secundum ipsius et multorum aliorum⁶ sententiam exprimunt. Non enim ignorat⁷ aliam et magis usitatam geometris rationum additionem seu compositionem, secundum quam ratio 1 ad 3 una cum ratione 5 ad 4 constituunt rationem 5 ad 12. Et praestaret quidem, mea sententia, non aliam rationum agnoscere additionem⁸, ne res duae diversissimae eodem nomine notentur⁹.

C H.

1662 Augusti.

[addressed:] Tradantur D. Andrew Crooke¹⁰ Bibliopolae in Coemiterio D. Pauli, sub signo Draconis Londini

Translation of Letter 148

A judgement sent to Hobbes's publisher, to be forwarded to him.

In the duplication of the cube by Hobbes, which is published together with his *Problemata physica*,¹ everything is all right up to this line on p. 117: 'Therefore the line XT, when extended, will meet Z.' For this does not follow from what has gone before; nor is it true. It would have been correct if he had said, 'Therefore the line XT, extended as far as the straight line YP, will itself also be cut in two by the straight line aT.' So in fact it will never come about that XT, when extended, meets

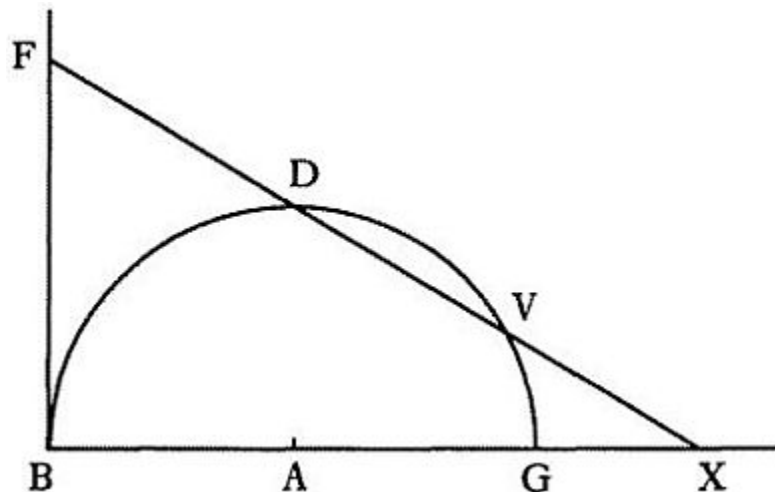
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Z—nor, accordingly, that the point X is on the circumference of the semicircle YZV, on which claim the rest of the demonstration depends. The author seems to have been deceived by the fact that the line XT comes so close to meeting Z that he was unable to see the gap between them. But it is extraordinary that he did not notice that his demonstration was flawed, given that it made no mention of what had been assumed in the construction of the problem, namely that AS was taken to be equal to the semidiagonal AI. This assumption, if it were valid, ought to have been a necessary part of the demonstration.

Moreover, he seems to reject without cause the use of arithmetical calculation in the investigation of geometrical constructions,⁽²⁾

As for his squaring of the circle,³ the fault in his demonstration is obvious on p. 130, where he says: 'Therefore *ef* is the same multiple of *eg* as the straight line *ct* is of *co* (which is the sine of the arc *Bo*), and the arc *BD* of the same arc *Bo*.' For this proportion is not correct for any arcs whatsoever, even if the arc *BS* is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the arc *BD*, and even if the straight line *Bi* is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the straight line *BF*.

I did not consider his other demonstration, knowing that it could not be better than the first one, since it is already evident to me on other grounds that what he is trying to prove is false—namely that the straight line *BF* is equal to the arc *BD*. For I have shown, in the theorems I printed in my *De circuli magnitudine*, that *BF* will always be greater than the arc *BD*, when *VX* is equal to the radius of the semicircle *BDG*. When, on the other hand, *XG* is equal to the same radius, the straight line *BF* will always be shorter than the arc *BD*.⁽⁴⁾



As for Wallis having written that the proportion 5:12 is greater than 1:3 by 1:12, it is not credible that he could have done this by mistaken⁽⁵⁾.

It must have been because what he means by the addition of proportions is the addition of fractions, which, according to him and to many other people⁽⁶⁾, express the quantity of proportions. For he is not

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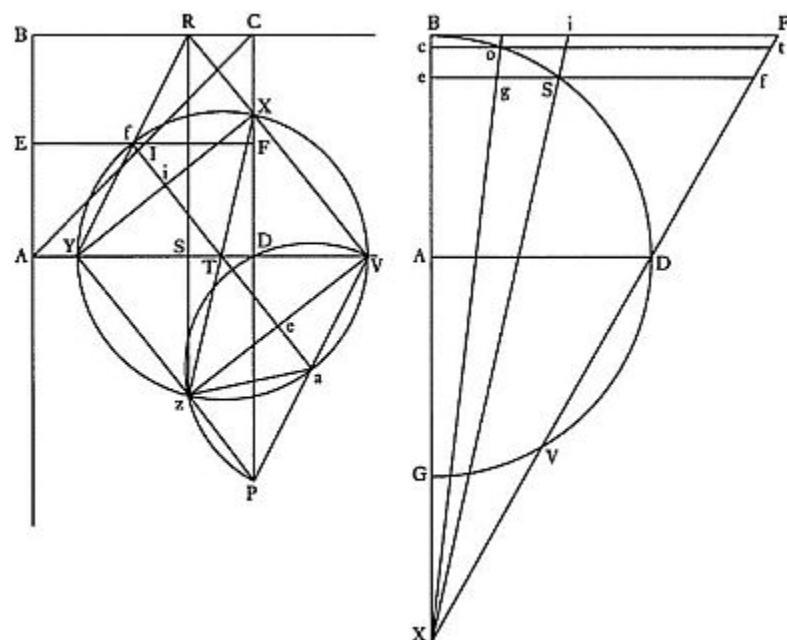
unaware⁽⁷⁾ of that other kind of addition or composition of proportions, the kind more familiar to geometers, according to which the proportion 1:3 together with the proportion 5:4 makes the proportion 5:12. And it would indeed be better, I think, not to recognize any other kind of addition of proportions,⁸ otherwise two completely different things will be called by the same name⁽⁹⁾.

C. Huygens

August 1662

[addressed:] To be delivered to Mr Andrew Crooke,¹⁰ bookseller, at the sign of the Dragon, in St Paul's churchyard, London.

The text above reproduces the text of the Chatsworth MS (the letter as sent); material variants and one significant deletion in the draft (siglum: 'LUL') are recorded in the notes. I supply copies of the diagrams from *Problemata physica*, referred to (but not reproduced) by Huygens. The second diagram is simplified here.



NOTES

¹ *Problemata physica*, pp. 115–19 (*OL* iv, pp. 378–9).

² injuria rejicit. graviterque [two words deleted] errat dum hac in re sententiam suam probare conatur. *LUL*.

³ *Problemata physica*, pp. 128–36 (not in *OL*, which gives the text of the 2nd edn., from which this demonstration was omitted).

⁴ BD. [De ijs quae in Wallisij Theorematis reprehendit quoniam super eis quoque judicium geometrarum requirit, videntur non omnino absque causa objecta, etsi levia sint magisque deleted] *LUL*.

⁵ credibile per errorem hoc eum *LUL*.

⁶ et aliorum multorum *LUL*.

⁷ Non ignorat enim *LUL*.

⁸ aliam agnoscere additionem rationum *LUL*. This phrase is slightly ambiguous. As Letter 149 shows, the translation given here expresses the meaning Huygens intended. But the word 'aliam' in this sentence could refer to the 'aliam' in the previous sentence, yielding the meaning: 'not to recognize that other kind of addition of proportions'. This, apparently, is how Hobbes interpreted it.

⁹ vocentur *LUL*.

¹⁰ See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.



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Christiaan Huygens, Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 149 [10/] 20 December 1662 Christiaan Huygens to Sir Robert Moray for Hobbes (10 December 1662 - 20 December 1662)

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LETTER 149 [10/] 20 DECEMBER 1662 CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS TO SIR ROBERT MORAY FOR HOBBS

R.Soc. MS H. 1. 16 (transcript).

Printed in *HOC* iv, pp. 281–3.

Ad defensionem Geometricorum Problematum T. H[obbs]¹ Responsio C. H[ugenij]²

Neque super sententiam meam super Hobbij paralogismis perscripsissem nisi hoc amicorum aliqui a me petijssent, neque in praesentia ad ea quibus se defendere conatus est³ responderem, nisi iisdem illis exigentibus. Namque plane frustra operam hanc impendi mihi persuasum habeo, siquidem nequi illum eo perducere posse existimo ut de erroribus suis confiteatur, neque etiam periculum esse ut cuiquam falsa pro veris asprobet, cum saepius peccando ita apud omnes fidem decoxerit, ut non citius fere problema ab Hobbio propositum videant, quam novum ψευδογράφημα⁴ emanasse pronuncient. Atque hoc praemittendum duxi, ne quis haec videns, miretur qui mihi circa naenias tam absurdas, vel tantillum temporis absumere libuerit. Imprimis causam quo minus sententiae meae acquieuerit referre eum video, quod jam ante quid de suis inventis sentirem alijs aperuissem, cum ille eos duntaxat appellaret sibi iudices, qui necdum illa praeiudicio damnassent, non equidem memini quando aut quale de

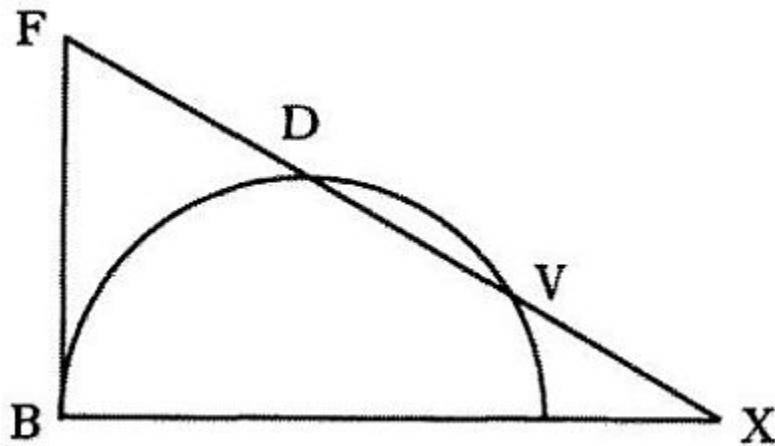
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ijs tulerim iudicium, ista vero novissima vice, non tam sententiam, quam refutationem scripsi, cui tuto sane acquiescere poterit, si quid apud illum veritas aut ratio valeret. Sed

esto, fuerit illi nihilo minus, quod ait, respondere libitum, mihi vero in posterum quoque liberum sit non respondere.

Dixeram in duplicatione Cubi haerere ibi demonstrationem ejus ubi ait productam XT incidere in Z.⁵ Ille vero hoc ita se habere denuo probare nititur, sed ea argumentatione, in qua nulla bona sit consequentia, adeo ut Typographorum errori id imputaturus fuerim nisi exemplar manu emendatum accepissem. Itaque cū nihil quod ad Rem faciat [> dicat,] satis sit hoc ipsum admonuisse quod quam verum sit, quivis ex ipso Hobbij scripto posset cognoscere, sufficere autem Geometris possit quo vitiosum et ridiculum esse totum hoc de duplicatione ἐπιχείρημα intelligant, quod in eo postquam AS posita est aequalis dimidio AC, et DV dimidio AD, nunquam deinde in demonstratione haec commemorantur neque aliquid quidem quod inde deductum sit. Id enim cum non fiat quis non videt eandem Hobbij demonstrationem convenire ei constructioni in qua AS, et DV ad libitum su[m]ptae *page torn* fuerint. Atque si paulum tantum eas immutet, jam ipsa illum Regula et Circinus docebunt non incidere productam XT in Z. ac fortasse talis demonstratio melius quam quaevis alia Geometrae hujusmodi suum sphalma ostensura sit. At quis Logicus inquit demonstrarit hoc, nempe id quod constructione effectum est in demonstratione considerandum esse. At ubi inquam apud Geometram ullum, problema vidit Hobbius ubi id neglectum sit?

Cur denique sibi ipsi mox contradicit cum sufficere ait Legitimae Demonstrationi ut omnia deriventur a Constructione. Hoc enim id ipsum est quod requiri dicebam, quomodo autem id fiat nisi considerando singula in apodeixi quae in constructione fuere constituta, quod quidem Hobbium non fecisse ex jam dictis constat. Non hoc a me impetrare possum ut subsidiariam alteram demonstrationem qua [lubentem]⁶ circuli quadraturam suam sustentare conatus est,⁷ ad examen revocem. Sed nec opus est cum ultro se illam et infoelix [> simul] Geometriae studium abjecturum polliceatur si constiterit absque Arithmetices auxilio me demonstrasse rectam BF majorem esse arcu BD quando XV est aequalis radio, videat igitur ea de re Theorema nostrum in libello de circuli magnitudine,⁸ ubi quidem absque numeris aut computatione ulla, rem confectam inveniet. cui Theoremati si tantum tribuat ut eo percepto non modo ab hoc errore suo, sed et ab vniversae geometriae inauspicatissimo sibi studio recedendum putet,



fateatur

tunc etiam non omnino *inutiliter me* (quod [antehac]⁹ objecerat) *circa dimensionem circuli lempus contrivisse.*

De rationum additione opinionem meam non recte eum percepisse video. Cum enim dixi, et *praestaret quidem, mea sententia, non aliam rationum additionem agnoscere* de illa intellexi de qua postremo locutus eram. Hobbius vero, exigua ambiguitate deceptus (est etiam aliqua fateor) contrariam plane ejus quam teneo sententiam mihi attribuit.¹⁰ Solam enim rationum additionem dici ego vellem, quae Geometris usitata est, et secundum quam, ratio 1 ad 3 una cum ratione 5. ad 4 constituit rationem 5. ad 12. Interim verba illa in alium sensum accepta, Epilogo perquam sane severo ansam praebuere. *Censeat inquit, unusquisque pro [lubito]*¹¹ *suo, Ego vero sic censeo, oportere homines ea non scribere quae intelligi non possunt, abstinere a contumelijs nec ijs rebus superbire quarum puderet si saperent.* Mira verborum gravitas, quibus tamen quid sibi velit non facile assequor. Neque enim exponit ipse, aut ego scio quidnam adeo obscurum ut intelligi nequeat scripserim, nisi forte non intelligibilia vocat, quaecunque ipse non intelligit, at in his etiam maxime perspicua esse existimo. De contumelia non erat quod quaereretur, ostendi enim duntaxat illi imperitiam suam non [exprobari]¹², neque deridendi causa oculorum errorem objeci, sed quod verissimam hanc illi fuisse hallucinandi causam arbitrarer. Vbi denique, aut unde superbiam meam deprehenderit prorsus nescio, hoc scio nulla in re unquam me minus superbijisse quam Paralogismorum istorum confutatione.

[annotated at head:] read Dec: 31: 1662

Ent[ere]^d. L[etter] B[ook]¹³ 1: 72

[endorsed:] [V. journal 1662 Dec. 31 *deleted*] An Extract of a letter of M. Hugen to S^r R. Moray¹⁴ containing his answer to M^r Hobbs defence of his Geometrical problems.

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Translation of Letter 149

The reply of C. Huygens⁽²⁾ to T. Hobbes's⁽¹⁾ defence of his geometrical problems.

I would not have written out my judgement on Hobbes's paralogisms, unless some of my friends had asked me to do so; nor would I be replying now to his attempt to defend himself.³ were not the same people requesting it of me. For I am convinced that I am making this effort utterly in vain—given that, in my opinion, he is incapable of being led thereby to admit his error. Nor do I think there is any danger that he might get anyone to accept his falsehoods for truths; for, through his frequent mistakes, he has so diminished his credit with everyone, that almost as soon as they see a new problem propounded by Hobbes, they declare that a new incorrectly drawn figure⁴ has appeared. And I thought I should say that first, so that no one who sees this should marvel that I have willingly taken up even such a small amount of my time in writing about such absurd childish nonsense. I see that the main reason he gives for not accepting my judgement is the fact that when on a previous occasion I expressed my opinion of his discoveries to some other people, to whom he had merely appealed to be his judges, they did not dismiss his claims out of hand. I really do not remember when that was, or what opinion I expressed about those things; but in this latest case the fact is that what I wrote was not so much an opinion as a refutation, which he could indeed safely accept, if truth or reason meant anything to him. But so be it: if he was none the less free, as he says, to reply, I shall indeed be free, henceforth, not to reply.

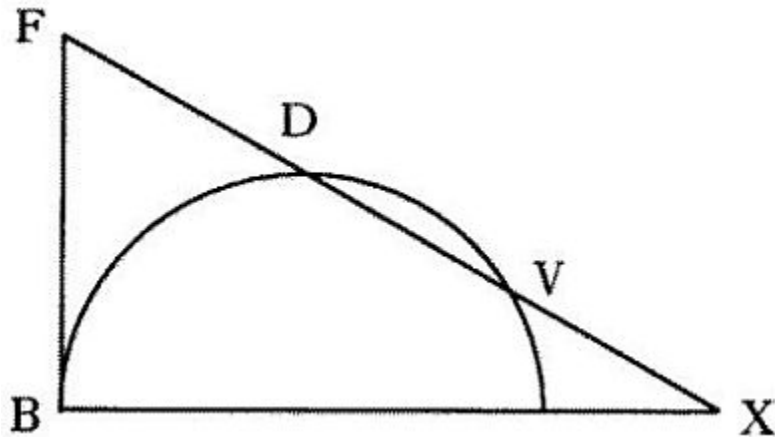
I said that his demonstration of the duplication of the cube broke down at the point where he said that the line XT, when extended, would meet Z.⁵ He is actually trying to prove again that this is so, but using an argument so incoherent that I would have thought it was misprinted, had I not received a copy corrected by hand. So, the fact that he says nothing that meets his purpose should itself be sufficient warning, since anyone can learn from what Hobbes has written just how much truth there is in it. But in order to let geometers understand just how flawed and absurd this whole attempt at a duplication of the cube is, it is sufficient to know that after he has posited that the line AS is equal to half AC, and DV equal to half AD, these things are never mentioned again in the demonstration, nor does he mention anything deduced from them. And since that never happens, anyone can see that

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the same demonstration by Hobbes would fit a construction in which AS and DV were taken to be of any length you liked. But if he changes them ever so slightly, he will learn from his ruler and compasses that the extension of XT will not meet Z. Perhaps, for a geometer like him, this kind of demonstration is the best way to show him where he has gone wrong. 'What logician ever showed', he asks, 'that what happens in the construction should be taken into account in the demonstration?' But where, I ask, in the works of any geometer, did Hobbes ever see a problem in which what happens in the construction is ignored?

And why, finally, does he then contradict himself by saying that it is sufficient to derive everything from the construction in order to show that the demonstration is correct? For this is just what I said was necessary; though the only way to do it is by examining in the logical argument each of the things which were laid down in the construction—and it is obvious from what I have already said that Hobbes has not done so.

I cannot bring myself to examine the other, subsidiary demonstration by which he tries to sustain his jolly⁽⁶⁾ squaring of the circle.⁷ But nor do I need to, given that he freely promises that he will abandon both that demonstration and his fruitless study of geometry if it is established that I have demonstrated, without the help of arithmetic, that the straight line BF is greater than the arc BD when XV is equal to the radius. Let him look, then, at my theorem on that subject in my little



book *De circuli*

magnitudine,⁸ where he will indeed find it done without numbers or any numerical calculation whatsoever. If he values that theorem so highly that, once he has seen it, he thinks he should not only give up this mistaken claim of his, but also abandon his extremely unsuccessful study of the whole of geometry, it must then be admitted that I did not altogether 'waste my time' (as he previously⁽⁹⁾ claimed) 'on the subject of the dimension of the circle'.

On the composition of proportions, I see that he misunderstood my opinion. For when I said that 'it would indeed be better, I think, not to recognize any other kind of addition of proportions', I was referring to

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the one which I had just described. But Hobbes, misled by a very slight ambiguity (and I admit that there is one) has attributed to me the very opposite opinion to the one I hold.¹⁰ I should prefer it if the term 'addition of proportions' were used only to mean what geometers mean by it, according to which the proportion 1:3 together with the proportion 5:4 makes the proportion 5:12. But while he took those words in the opposite sense, they gave him the opportunity to write an extremely severe epilogue: 'Let everyone think what he likes⁽¹¹⁾', he says, 'but I think people should not write things that cannot be understood, they should refrain from making insults, and they should not pride themselves over things which would be a source of shame if they understood them.' Those are wonderfully solemn words, but I find it hard to understand what he means by them. For he does not explain, and I do not know, what it was in my writing which was so obscure that it could not be understood—unless perhaps he calls 'unintelligible' anything that he himself does not understand, even though I find such things, in this matter, extremely clear. There was no reason for him to complain of insults, for I merely showed that he could not be blamed⁽¹²⁾ for his ignorance, and I suggested that his eyesight was failing not in order to ridicule him but because I thought this was the reason why his attention had wandered so. Finally, where or on what grounds he accuses me of pride, I simply do not know. But I do know this: that I have never prided myself less on anything I have done than on refuting those fallacious arguments.

NOTES

¹³ Contractions expanded.

¹⁴ Sir Robert Moray (1608–73), having played an active role on the royalist side as military organizer, envoy, and negotiator with the Scots during the Civil War, devoted himself in exile in the late 1650s to the study of chemistry; he was a founder member of the Royal Society and one of its most active participants, serving on its Council from 1662 to 1672.

² Contraction expanded in MS in another hand.

¹ Contraction expanded in MS in another hand.

³ This was apparently a printed work, entitled *De duplicatione cubi ad defensionem problematum geometricorum Th. Hobbii contra C.H.* (London, 1662). This work is identified by the editors of *HOC* (iv, p. 261); they must have seen a copy, since the full title they give is not supplied by the correspondence itself, but I have been unable to locate a copy of this work in any library in Europe or America. (I am also grateful to Dr Theo Vermeulen, of the Royal Library, The Hague, for the information that it does not appear in the unpublished Union Catalogue of Dutch libraries.) It is not mentioned in any catalogue of Hobbes's works, nor does it appear in Wallis's detailed summary of Hobbes's mathematical publications in *Thomae Hobbes quadratura confutata*, pp. 20–2.

⁴ Huygens uses a term for an incorrectly drawn figure from Aristotle, *De sophisticis elenchis*, 11. 3.

⁵ See Letter 148, and the first diagram at the end of the notes to that letter.

⁶ *lubantem MS.*

⁷ This was a new defence of the squaring of the circle in *Problemata physica* (see Letter 148 n. 3).

⁸ Theorem 12 (prop. 15), pp. 28–9.

⁹ *antehuc MS.*

¹⁰ See Letter 148 n. 8.

¹¹ *lubitu MS.*

¹² exprobari *MS.*



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Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 150 [23 December 1662/] 2 January 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes [from Paris] (23 December 1662 - 02 January 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 150 [23 DECEMBER 1662/] 2 JANUARY 1663 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS [FROM PARIS]*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 314–315^r (transcript).

Doctissimo Sapientissimóque Viro D. Thomae Hobbio, Samuel Sorberius.

Qui conuenire solebant Viri docti rerum Physicarum studiosi in Aedibus Illustrissimi Monmorij,¹ nunc ad Sourdisium² confluunt, sed numero pauciores, & breui tempore nulli planè futuri, qui eo se conferre velint. Nimirum facta est ista transmigratio nimietate quadam comitatis Monmoriana, qui gratum facere studuit Viro Nobili dudum expetenti, & quem nos quoque sperabamus studia ista exornaturum, iuuaturúmque, quia non procul ab Aula degit Eques ipse Torquatus, Provinciae Praefectus & amplissima in re positus. Verùm falsos ita nos habuerunt ista omnia vt nobis videatur Rerum Naturalium Scientia seu in Captiuitatem quandam Babylonicam sub Nabuchodonosoro aliquo translata; & nemo nunc nostrum non exoptet Zorobabelem³ aliquem qui rursum nos in aedes Monmorianas seu in patriam remeare faciat. Vt verùm enim fatear impar prorsus est Sourdisius iste moderando coetui Eruditorum, nec qui satis sibi reuerentiae ex torque sua conciliet, cum caetera desint, quae Viros bonos, ingenuos & acumine mentis praepollentes irretire solent, comitas scilicet, sermo blandus, propensus in omnes fauor, munificentia, vel studium benemerendi, sumptus honesti atque aliae virtutes, quae Peireskios⁴ Regibus exaequant, hominis literati vel Musas amantis nihil habet Pseudo Peireskii noster praeter loquacitatem intempestiuam & gryphos Syllogismorum, captionúmque Dialecticarum laqueos quibus passim

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in scirpo nodum quaerens strepere solet. Philosophiae [Aripoleticae *altered to* Aristotelicae] nomen dedit, & adeò prae fracte juravit in verba Magistri vt dissentiendi vel latiùs excurrendi libertatem vix ferat, cùm tamen non multum versatus sit in libris Auctoris sui, nec Graece nôrit vel quid aliud praestare queat, praeter bene affectum in celeberrimum Auctorem animum, dum caetera Rabulae permittit, docto me herclè & facundo Aristotelis Defensori, sed cum quo contendere durum est. Sourdisius itaque nihil praeclarius in hac re facit quàm in Aedibus suis inamoenis, & in parte aedium inamoena, foedè, incomptè & rusticè nos excipere, non aliter quàm si ad Hybernum quemdam Professore diuerterent impexi nonnulli congerones ludimagistrii; qui quidem hyberno tempore vt ligno consulerent angusto in cubiculo tempestatis deformitatem sola vociferatione corrigere [contenderent]⁵, atque domum nocte illustri Tuguriolum quisque suum caecutientes luto madentes repeterent. Nam bonus iste hospes Musis nec quadrigam suam, nec famulum vnquam obtulit qui praeluceret, impransus quoque semper excipit, & cauet quàm minimo sumptu maximam gloriam consequatur. Ride, quaeso, miseras hominis divitias! & inde existima quàm longè absit ab impendenda parte illarum nonnulla ad juuandam Experimentis suis rem publicam! Vix sanè potui Nudiustertiùs me continere qui in os isti Menedemo⁶ dicerem 'Proh Deùm atque hominum fidem, quid vis tibi! aut quid quaeris! Annos sexaginta natus es, aut plus, eò vt conijcio, agrum in his regionibus meliorem neque pretij majoris nemo habet seruos complures,' Sed abstinui tamen qui melior nequaquam euaderet, nec altiores spiritus sumeret mea adhortatione, quemadmodum, vt aiunt Chymici ex capite mortuo, quod terram damnatam vocant, nihil quod alicuius bonae frugis sit extrahi potest. Genio igitur suo hujuscemodi factum hominem permitto, & vt ignoscant mihi posterì rogito, si quid vnquam in scriptis meis legant vnde alia sentire possint praeter illa, quae nunc recensui, & dabitur, & dabitur [*sic*] quidem aliàs occasio expungendi alios quoque nonnullos qui laudibus meis pariter repudium miserunt. Votorum nostrorum summa nunc est vt nos isti Chymerae illigatos expediat Pegasus, & reddat vero Physicis fautori Monmorio, Viro ad vnguem facto, & in cujus laudes lubens me diffunderem nisi jam nosses, neque vberima dicendi materia obiter esset praestringenda. Quare vtraquam paginam in proxima Epistola mea faciet, vt inde peruideas quàm merito eximiam eius virtutem venerer. Vale

IV. Nonas Januarias 1663.

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Translation of Letter 150

Samuel Sorbière to the very learned and very wise Mr Thomas Hobbes.

Those learned physicists who used to gather at the house of the illustrious M. de Montmor¹ now assemble at Sourdis's² house; but they go there in smaller numbers, and it is clear that in a short while there will be nobody at all wanting to go there. The migration took place because of some excess of kindness, no doubt, on de Montmor's part: he wanted to please the nobleman who had been asking for this change for a long time. We too hoped that Sourdis would support and help those studies, since he lives not far from Court, has a decoration for gallantry, and is the Prefect of a Province and a man of very ample means. In fact we were so wrong

about all this that we now feel as if Science had been carried off into some Babylonian captivity by a sort of Nebuchadnezzar. We are all hoping for some Zerubbabel³ to take us back to our native land, the house of de Montmor.

For to tell the truth Sourdis is quite unfitted to the task of presiding over a gathering of scholars. His decoration is not sufficient to earn him respect when he lacks those other qualities which attract good and outstandingly intelligent men: qualities such as friendliness, polished conversation, favour towards all, munificence or a desire to be helpful, generous expenditure, and other virtues which make men such as de Peiresc⁴ equal to kings. This pseudo-de Peiresc has none of the qualities of a man of letters or a lover of the arts, but only a tendency to talk too much at the wrong time, and to use the traps and snares of syllogisms and dialectical sophisms, by which means he makes a great fuss looking for imaginary difficulties. He has proclaimed himself an Aristotelian, and is such a resolute defender of his master's writings that he scarcely allows any freedom to disagree or to range more widely; though he is not very well read in the works of his master, lacking both Greek and any other intellectual qualification apart from a liking for the works of that very well-known author, while he delegates everything else to a pettifogger who, God knows, is learned and eloquent enough as a defender of Aristotle, but is difficult to argue against.

So Sourdis's contribution is no more than to give us his wretched, crude, vulgar hospitality in an unattractive part of his unattractive house. It is as if a group of grasping rustic schoolmasters were entertained by an Irish professor, and, to save fuel in the winter weather, met

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in a small room and tried⁽⁵⁾ to raise the air-temperature by shouting, before returning home, each to his little cottage, by moonlight, unable to see the way and getting covered with mud. For that kind host of ours has never offered the Muses his coach, nor sent a servant to light our way; and he fasts when he entertains us, being careful to acquire the maximum of glory with the minimum of expense. See how laughable this man's miserable riches are! And you can see how far he is from spending any part of his wealth on helping the state with his experiments! The day before yesterday I could scarcely restrain myself from telling this Menedemus⁶ to his face: 'For God's sake, what do you want? What are you after? You're 60 years old (or older still, I suspect); no one in this part of the country has a better or more valuable estate, you have plenty of servants ...'. But I kept quiet, knowing that my encouragement would not make him improve or adopt a more generous attitude—just as, according to chemists, nothing useful can be extracted from a 'caput mortuum' (which they call 'cursed earth'). So I leave this man, made as he is, to the care of his own tutelary spirit, and I beg future generations to forgive me if they ever read anything in any of my works which seems to imply a different opinion from the one I have expressed here. I shall have the opportunity elsewhere of deleting the names of several other people who have similarly divorced themselves from my praises.

All that we pray for now is that some Pegasus may untie our bonds and release us from that Chimera, and bring us back to the true champion of physics, de Montmor, the perfect gentleman, whose praises I would sing at length if you did not already know about him. But his virtues are too copious a theme to be touched on lightly in passing. So let that fill both sides of my next letter, to enable you to see fully how worthy his exceptional virtues are of my worship. Farewell.

2 January 1663

NOTES

¹ See Letter 133 n. 2.

² Charles d'Escoubleau, Marquis de Sourdis et d'Alluyes (1588–1666), *chevalier des ordres du Roi* (1633), field-marshal, governor of the province of Orléans, military *conseiller d'état*. He had been decorated with the *cordon bleu*, the insignia of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

³ Governor of Judah during the reign of Darius, he was entrusted by God with the task of preparing for the return of the Jews from exile by beginning the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Zech. 4: 7–10).

⁴ Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), doctor of law (1604), *conseiller* of the Parlement of Provence, and magistrate at Aix-en-Provence (1607–15), member of the 'academy' of the scholarly brothers du Puy in Paris (1615–23), where he befriended Gassendi; he spent the last fourteen years of his life in Provence, conducting research and corresponding on a wide range of scientific, historical, and philological topics. He was a patron to many other scholars, and his house at Aix was part-library, part-museum.

⁵ *contenderet MS*.

⁶ Menedemus of Eretria (c.339–c.265 BC), a military commander and politician who became interested in philosophy.



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Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 151 Early 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes , from Paris (1663)

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LETTER 151 EARLY 1663 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS , FROM PARIS*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 315–16 (transcript).

Vt verum tibi fatear, Hobbi sapientissime, non possum ad te de Monmorio¹ meo scribens (cur enim meum non dicam, qui me adeò amat, qui me beneficijs cumulat) amorem exuere quo Virum amari dignissimum prosequor. Itaque meritò in suspicionem venis, me non esse omnino idoneum laudibus ejus recensendis apud illos praesertim, qui animorum istam, quae est inter nos conjunctionem peruiderint, vel qui fando acceperint me in hujusce Patroni clientelam dudum irrepsisse, ac locum aliquatenus Gassendi nostri impleuisse. Non tamen ideo quae verissima comperi minus praedicare debeo, nec possum quoties sese offert occasio viri istius virtutem coloribus suis depingendi intra silentium me continere. Cum igitur in Superioribus meis Epistolis significauerim nullam intercedere Sourdium² inter & Monmorium ingenij, morumque dissimilitudinem, & to scire aueas. quae rationes Scientiae Naturalis studiosos impellant vt in ejus Aedibus & sub ejus patrocinio philosophari malint, quàm apud hominem nullius inter Eruditos nominis, atque illotis manibus ad studia ista accedentem, pauca mihi nunc addenda supersunt, quae satis etiam supérque ex appositione contrariorum innotescunt. Est etenim Monmorius Sourdium isti planè similis atque adeo comis & humanissimus, cautos tamen & sagacissimus vt naris vix alium emunctioris nouerim, politiori Literatura imbutus, librorum ampla instructus suppellectile, in Philosophicis subactus δῖβαρος in nullis non artibus liberalioribus & mechanicis quoque versatissimus adeò vt Instrumentorum nomina, & vsum apprimè nôrit, nec non artium fermè

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omnium elegantiora quaeque opera, vel noua inuenta, in Musaeo suo asseruet; atque tanta quidem copiâ, vt in aceraos plerùmque sint congesta, potius quàm in ordinem aliquem disposita, sed condonandum illud negotijs priuatis, publicisque, quae Musis

amoenioribus litans, non intermittit, vt mirum sit qua ratione potuerit Senatui frequens adesse, & aliquando Consilio³ praeesse, & Chymicorum Laboratorium adire & in hortis omnigenas plantas lustrare, et in officinis ad nulla non artium vel minima attendere, in quibus Mathesim obseruat, & vel peritissimos artifices multa docere solet, quibus artem quisque suam vltèrùs prouehat, vnde notissimus exstat cuique in arte sua peritiori, & adiri primus exoptaret statim atque exsurgit recens opus aliquod, tum vt de illo iudicium suum ferat, tum vt ipse emat, qui praesens semper pecuniam habet, & hisce sibi comparandis libenter impendit. Inde fit vt innumeras celebrium Pictorum tabellas habeat, & egregijs alijs, sed minorum gentium pictoribus imitandas praebeat, quo scilicet illarum copiam nobis aliquando faciat, & clientum suorum domo exornet; nunc autem cogitat de tubis opticis immensis, sexaginta scilicet pedum, conficiendis & de Laboratorio in aedibus suis construendo; cujus postea curam tradet viro docto gratis, quod in vrbe non spernendum, habitanti. Doctos enim ille semper domi suae fouit & aluit, & etiam nunc quotidie excipit, vt Symposio Philosophorum quotiescumque accumbo, interesse mihi videar. Quae quidem minuta commemoro, vnde tamen mirum quanta fiat procliuitas ad necessitudinem aliquam conciliandam, praesertim vbi conuictus facilis, sine arte mensa, & eraditis sermonibus atque hospitis comitate dapes condiri solent. Accedit Aedium amoenitas, hortus ruris aemulus, conclauium multa, ampla, varia & in Aestatem pergula, eaque omnia splendè ornata, focus per hyemem luculentus, non gelidè, timidèque ministrata ligna, oblata domum repetentibus quadriga, memoria Gassendi, qui coetui praeesse videretur, nisi per nonnullos ingenio feruidiore praeditos staret, & hospitis nomen jam celebre, atque alia plura commoda, quae omnino efflagitant vt studia Physica Aedes Monmorianas ament. Nullius autem iurauit Monmorius in verba Magistri, sed agilis fit, & qui mane mersatur ciuilibus vndis post prandia philosophator; nunc verò Cartesio se subtrahens furtim in Aristippi⁴ praecepta delabatur, & nunc tua dogmata excutit, nunc alia, ad nouitia doctrinarum sedulus attendens; praelibans autem omne quod affert, nec vnquam dissentiens nisi penitissima praecesserit rerum contemplatio & subtilissimas afferat dissentienti rationes. Vtinam ille pro suo jure magis authenticè sua pronunciaret, quod alij

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circa nugas suas faciunt, nec tam cautè incedere vellet; nam officit plerumque ejus eruditioni & subtilitati nimia modestia, quâ dum omnia circumspiciens nequaquam scilicet offendat vel vt tardos operiatur lento passu procedat, atque ita ab alijs nimis citato gradu decurrentibus obruitur; magno sanè damno praeclarè excogitatorum, quae nobis saepius tam iniquo fato perierunt. Sed cùm ego animum dudum appulerim ad expiscandas tanti viri quas deosculor cogitationes quanquam multa inchoata non absoluat, vel alia multa jaceant, quae nunc exposui nonnullorum petulantia, ex ruderibus tamen illis saepiùs eruo innumera, quae trunca & mutila, cum canoris aliorum nugis non facile permutauerim. Et hâc de re quidem nunc satis. Pluribus aliàs, vel cùm de alijs Academicis nostris insignioribus sententiam meam tibi aperiam. Vale.

Parisijs 1663.

Translation of Letter 151

To tell you the truth, most wise Hobbes, as I write to you about my friend de Montmor¹—and why should I not call him my friend, since he loves me so much and heaps favours on me—I cannot set aside the love which I feel for a man who is so worthy of love. So you may justly suspect that I am not the right person to examine the praise he receives—especially from those who have observed the closeness between us, or who have heard tell that I have for a long time enjoyed his patronage (having to some extent filled the place of our friend Gassendi). But that does not mean that I should speak less fully about things which I have found to be absolutely true. Nor can I ever keep quiet if there is an opportunity to portray his virtue in its true colours. Since, therefore, I have indicated in my previous letters that there is no difference in mental ability or behaviour between Sourdis² and de Montmor, and since you would like to know why people who pursue scientific studies prefer to do their philosophizing at his house and under his patronage, rather than at the house of someone who has no scholarly reputation and is ill prepared for such studies, I must now add a few things, which may more than adequately be expressed by a comparison of opposites.

Now, de Montmor is obviously just like Sourdis: he is so kind and so extremely civilized, but also so careful and so very perceptive, that I have scarcely known anyone of such keen discernment; a man deeply read in literature, his learning broadened by an ample supply of books,

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cultivated through and through in the art of philosophy, and so expert in both the liberal and the mechanical arts that he has a perfect knowledge of the names of tools and their uses. In his collection he has examples of the finest things made by nearly all the mechanical arts, or recently discovered by them, and in such profusion that they are heaped up together rather than arranged on some system. But that is excusable, in view of his public and private business, which he does not abandon for his worship of the fairer Muses. Indeed, it is a wonder that he can be in constant attendance at Parliament, and sometimes be president of the Council,³ and also visit the chemists' laboratory and examine all kinds of plants in the gardens, and attend to the smallest details of the mechanical arts in workshops, where he observes the principles on which the art is based and is often able to teach even the most skilled workmen many things which enable them to improve their art. Because of this he is well known to all the most skilled workmen, and prefers to be the first to be approached as soon as any new work arises, either to give his judgement on it, or to buy it for himself—for he always has ready money, and willingly spends it to acquire such things for himself. And so it is that he has innumerable pictures by famous artists, which he sometimes offers for copying to other selected artists of lesser status; sometimes in this way he supplies us with pictures, and decorates the houses of his clients. Now, however, he is thinking of making enormous telescopes, sixty feet long. He also plans to build a laboratory in his house, which he will then entrust to a learned man, giving him accommodation free of charge (which is something not to be sneezed at in Paris).

He has always kept and maintained learned men at his house; and now he entertains them every day, so that each time I dine there I feel as if I am attending a philosophers' banquet. These are small details which I am recording, but they give rise to an extraordinary propensity to form friendships, especially where there is an easy intimacy, at a dinner-table where there is no standing on ceremony, and where the feast is seasoned with learned conversation and with the kindness of our host. And in addition there is the beauty of the house, a garden which rivals the countryside, a great variety of spacious rooms, and a summer-house, all of them splendidly decorated; in winter there is a blazing hearth, supplied generously and unhesitatingly with firewood; and a coach is offered to guests returning home. Gassendi's memory lives on there, and he seems almost to preside over the assembly, except that some there are endowed with even brighter intellects; and

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our host's reputation is already well known. These and many other advantages absolutely insist that the physical sciences should love the house of de Montmor.

De Montmor has not bound himself to any master; he is an active man, and after spending the morning immersed in civil life he philosophizes after lunch. Now he withdraws from Descartes and slips secretly into the theories of Aristippus;⁴ now he examines your teachings, now those of other authors; always paying special attention to whatever is new about them. However, he tastes whatever he makes use of, and never disagrees without having contemplated the matter very profoundly, nor without putting forward the most perceptive reasons for his dissent. I wish he did not have such a cautious approach, and that he would give his judgements more authoritatively, as is his right (and as others do with their trifling opinions). His learning and his perceptive judgement are mainly obscured by his excessive modesty, which makes him proceed both circumspectly, in his care not to give offence, and slowly, as he waits for sluggards to keep up with him, so that he is overtaken by others who rush on with excessive haste. So, by a great misfortune, the things he has thought out so brilliantly have often fallen by the wayside, to our great loss. But since I have for a long time applied myself to winking out the thoughts, which I cherish, of such a great man, although he has still not perfected many of them, and although some of them lie in low esteem, after I exposed them to the insolence of numerous critics, nevertheless I can often salvage innumerable things from the ruins, torn and mutilated though they be, which I would not willingly exchange for the fine-sounding trifles of other men. But that is enough on this subject. I shall say more on another occasion, when I tell you my opinion of some of the other more distinguished members of our Academy. Farewell.

Paris, 1663

NOTES

¹ See Letter 133 n. 2.

² See Letter 150 n. 2.

³ See Letter 78 n. 11.

⁴ The grandson of a companion of Socrates of the same name, Aristippus was credited with founding the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, which taught that immediate pleasure was the only end of human action.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 152 Early 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes , from Paris (1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 152 EARLY 1663 SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS , FROM PARIS

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 316^v–317 (transcript).

Quem indicare volui, ingenio feruidiore praeditum, [nominis]¹ est Petitus² Mathematicus, senex ille iuuenili animo [perdius]³ & pernox, quod maximè laudandum, [*marginal note*:: Petit, Mathémat.] veritati eruendae incumbens sed tam praeceps & tanta cum jactantia industriae suae, ac alienae contemptu vt importunus omnino euadat, & in quocunque Concessu vocatus fuerit ordinem & Philosophicam moderationem facillè peruertat. Similes huic homini plures vidimus, in lectissimâ Philosophorum Monmorianorum⁴ coronâ. Quia tamen agmen ducit ardeliones inter, ac turbulentiore nouimus neminem inter Experipateticos seu defaecatiorem Philosophiam profitentes, prudenter conijcis hunc instar omnium futurum, si paulo accuratiùs tibi sistam coloribus suis probè depictum. De illo in Volumine Epistolarum mearum Gallicarum plura dixi in laudem sedulitatis,⁵ quae quidem meretur vt plurimi fiat. Nam ex Ephebis & postquam ex scholis Peripateticis excessit, & ad Galileum, Verulamium, Cartesium & Mathematicos, in libertatem sese asserens, animum applicuit, non destitit indagare, odorari, vndiquaque perscrutari si qua posset inuestigando noua dogmata solidiora, & ex dogmatis solidioribus noua inuenta vtiliora detegere. In quam rem tempus & pecuniam pro modulo suo lubens impendit; atque, vt opinor, habitâ familiae ac facultatum suarum ratione. Factum est tamen vel temperamento hominis igneo, vel inusu politioris Literaturae, vel consortio Nobilium, dum Architecturam Militarum sub Richelio exercuit, vt nemo non pacatâ mente gaudens ejus doctrinam reformidet. Siquidem solet μάλα αὐθεντικῶς sua pronunciare, & aliena pipulo disserere. Sua dico quae nouit, non quae inuenit; quantula enim essent ista si solis istis aures nostras obtunderet. Sed tanta est ejus petulantia, quae nemini tyronibus olim nobis fuit, vt in quacunque, quae sui juris potest esse, materia, statim os caeteris occludat, & solus dicere velit quae alij quoque didicere. Si quis

verò occupet & pauca praelibare cupiat, vel frontem obducatur, vel rideat; & jam omnibus nota non semel exclamet. Quod planè dissimulandum modestiae leges imperant, praesertim cùm quis talia sibi non arrogat, & manipulos tantùm refert doctrinae illius, quam ex agro Scientiarum communi demetere doctis omnibus est

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propositum. At sibi magis aequus Vir iste bonus & eruditus; quippe qui jamdudum sueverit studia sua auditoribus propinare, & oblitus fuerit vnde hauserit, quàm a se alibi saepiuscule repetita meminit, sensim sibi plaudens in eam suspicionem venit illius doctrinae quam profert se primum Auctorem extitisse. Hinc etiam fit vt existimet si quid aptius nobis exeat, se nos ea cuncta docuisse, quandoquidem passim docere solet. Atque ita si quis illum Auctor de re aliqua consulat, totum sibi Librum arrogat, & bardos habet ac stolidos, qui ingenuè vt quid mutuentur adeunt. Idque mihi forsitan contigit dum ab illo petij, quis esset ille Fabius Marescotus Bononiensis cujus ad Vitraeum scribens scitu dignissimam [Epistolam *deleted*] historiam retuli,⁶ quem vero Petitus nouerat Lutetiae cùm in Hollandia versarer. Sed nec Gassendo ipsi, Viro supra omnem laudem posito, amico veteri parcere solet, qui nimiam in illo & stupendam Eruditionem pari cum iudicio & mentis acumine conjunctam, reprehendere solet; quippe qui traducit tanquam sterilem nec sagacem rerum inuentorem, nec satis Mathematicum & in Mechanicis [praefertur *deleted*] versatum. Quod sciolis omnibus & Aulicis forsitan nonnullis, vel inuidis quamplurimis persuadebit, at nequaquam tibi Scientiarum ambitum mente, animoque quotidie peragranti. Certè quemadmodum inter illos qui militarem gloriam quaerunt, & fortitudinis laudem consequuntur non illi potiores sunt qui jactabundi semper victorias efflant, vel iracundi praelia faciunt, sed qui dum mansuetè degunt, nec passim ac temerè, & leui aut nulla de causa gladiantur, nullam strenuè agendi justam occasionem praetermittunt. Ita inter bonae mentis & eruditionis amantes, non illi doctiores haberi debent qui intempestiuè loquuntur, aut alios temnunt, sed qui dum modestiam colunt non rarò silent, aut alijs lampada tradunt parati suo tempore egregia dicere, & si fortè contingat vocem attollere, aut calamum in maleuolos indoctosque stringere *ὁ μακαρίτης* felicitis memoriae Amicus ille noster, Eò igitur res redit, Petitum virum esse multiscium, operibus Mechanicis operum adiuuentem, & in nullis non quae artis sunt consulendum, sed iudicij pusilli & noxiae congressibus Physicis loquacitatis ac petulantiae. Itaque officinas fabrorum adeat, vel in sua se exerceat, nec nisi iussus respondeat, idque paucis velim. Quod cùm impetrare pro ingenij feruorem non liceat, dolendum sanè, aut eximio viro prorsus carendum esse Caetui Philosophico, aut per eum non licere, quamuis tam multis experiundis idoneus sit, vt modestia tandem obtineat. Quod vni tibi dictum cupio, nam hominem istum amo & veneror. Vale.

Parisijs 1663.

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[*postscript:*] Vereor ne quae Academiae nostrae Monmoriana apud Sourdisium⁷ contingunt, in confirmationem veniant tuae Politices, & sin minus quid in Scientia rerum naturalium proficiamus, Ciuilis doctrinae subtilissima tua Elementa⁸ vsu ipso verissima comperiamus. Solebat enim Prataeus⁹ non illepidè dicere cùm ad Academiam istam vnà interdum tenderemus, & ridere vellet mores nonnullorum inficetos, Adeamus Physicos istos vt Moralem & Politicam, nec de illis cogitantes, nos doceant. Iterum Vale.

Translation of Letter 152

The mathematician with a rather fiery wit whom I wanted to describe to you is called⁽¹⁾ Petit:² he is an old man with a young man's spirit, who devotes his energies day³ and night to digging out the truth—for which he deserves the highest praise. But he does this so hastily, with such a display of his own industry and such contempt for other people's, that he becomes completely inconsiderate; and wherever he is readily invited he is apt to destroy orderly argument and philosophical moderation. We see several people of his sort in that very select gathering of Montmorian⁴ philosophers. However, because he is the leading figure among zealous busybodies, and because we know no one who is more of a troublemaker among the ex-Peripatetics or exponents of a more refined philosophy, you may sensibly take this man as symbolizing all of them, if I set him out in his true colours with a little more detail.

In my book of letters in French I said several things in praise of his assiduity,⁵ which does indeed deserve to be highly valued. For when he had become an adult—that is, when he had grown out of the doctrines of the Peripatetics—and, emancipating himself, turned his mind to the study of Galileo, Bacon, Descartes, and the mathematicians, he persisted unceasingly in tracking down, sniffing out, and thoroughly inspecting from all sides whatever new and more valid theories he could discover through his investigations, and whatever new, more useful inventions he could derive from them. In this pursuit he freely spends his time and money, in proportion to his small means—and, I think, with due consideration of his family and their resources. However, either because of his fiery temperament, or because of his unfamiliarity with the politer sort of literature, or because of his being in the company of noblemen, it came about that while he was teaching military architecture under Richelieu, everyone who was not of a placid

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disposition was violently put off by his teaching. For indeed it is his habit to propound his own theories very authoritatively, and discuss other people's with carping contempt. When I say 'his own theories', I mean the ones he has learned, not the ones he has invented; for there would be very few of them, if those were the only ones he deafened us with. But he is so petulant (more than any of us were when we were mere beginners), that when any subject arises which he thinks he can call his own, he immediately makes the others shut up, and wants to be the only one to explain things which the others have also learned. If anyone gets in before him or tries to take the first sip at the subject, he either frowns or laughs, and exclaims repeatedly that those things are already known to everybody.

The laws of modesty decree, obviously, that one should hide such feelings, especially when the speaker is not claiming these ideas as his own discoveries, but merely bringing in sheaves of that doctrine which all learned men aim to harvest from the common land of the sciences. But this good and learned man is more inclined to favour his own interests. Indeed, for a long time now he has been in the habit of asking his listeners to celebrate his own researches; and, forgetting where he got his ideas from, but remembering that he has repeated them pretty often, he gradually and self-flatteringly begins to think that he must have been the original inventor of the doctrine which he is putting forward. Hence also his opinion that if we make any rather well-judged remark, he must have taught us all those things in the first place, seeing that he is in the habit of teaching people all the time. And hence it is that if any author consults him about anything, he claims credit for the whole book, and regards as oafs and blockheads those who come to him so openly to ask if they might borrow something from him. This is what happened by chance to me, when I asked him who that Favi Marescotti of Bologna was, whose history I said was well worth knowing in my letter to Vitré⁶—Petit having known him at Paris, when I was staying in Holland. But he will not even spare his old friend Gassendi himself, who can never be praised highly enough: he is in the habit of criticizing him for his extraordinary, stupendous erudition, combined as it was with an equal degree of judgement and mental acumen. Indeed, he makes fun of him as a dull, unproductive researcher, insufficiently skilled in mathematics and mechanics. People with a smattering of learning, and perhaps some people at Court, or quite a few envious people, may be persuaded by this; but it will never convince you, who traverse the whole range of the sciences in your mind and spirit every day.

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Indeed, it is as with those who seek military glory and gain praise for their valour, where the people who succeed are not the ones who are always blustering boastfully about their victories or resorting to arms out of anger, but those who live quietly: they do not draw their swords all the time, or impulsively, or on a slight pretext, or on no pretext at all, but they never fail to take firm action when the occasion requires it. In the same way, with those who love learning and good sense, the people who should be considered the more learned are not the ones who speak out of turn and show scorn for the rest, but the ones who, cultivating modesty as they

do, are often silent, or hand over the torch to others because they are ready to make their own outstanding contributions in their own time; and if by any chance it happens that they raise their voices or draw their pens to attack malicious or ignorant people, they do it in the manner of that friend of ours of happy memory—may he rest in peace.

So this is what it comes down to: Petit is a man who knows much, gives his attention to mechanical devices, and is worth consulting in any matter to do with that art; but he is a man of feeble judgement, whose talkativeness and petulance are damaging to meetings of physicists. Let him visit craftsmen's workshops, therefore, or let him busy himself in his own; but let him not speak unless commanded to do so—and then, preferably, in a few words. But since that is not likely to happen, thanks to the impetuousness of his mental character, it is very much to be regretted either that this eminent man must be denied entry to the philosophical gathering, or else that, although he is suitable for doing so many experiments, he will not allow modesty eventually to prevail. I should like you to regard this as spoken only to yourself, since I do love and honour this man. Farewell.

Paris, 1663

[*postscript:*] I fear that what happens to our Montmorion Academy at Sourdis's⁷ house will come to confirm your political theories, and that the less we achieve in the natural sciences, the more we prove, by actual practice, the complete truth of your most subtle Elements of political philosophy.⁸ For as du Prat⁹ used to say rather elegantly, laughing, while we were on our way to that Academy, at the dull behaviour of several of its members, 'Let us visit the physicists, so that they may teach us lessons in morals and politics without realizing it.' Farewell again.

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NOTES

¹ non vnus *MS.*

² Pierre Petit (1594 or 1508–1677), an engineer and specialist in artillery who became acquainted with Mersenne and Gassendi, and reacted strongly against the physics and theology of Descartes; he became *intendant général des fortifications* in 1649. He was the author of a short anti-astrological treatise, *L'Eclipse du soleil, du 12, d'aoust 1654* (1654); and two other astronomical works, *Observationes aliquot eclipsium solis et lunae*, dedicated to Cureau de la Chambre (*n.p.*, *n.d.*, probably Paris, 1660), and a *Dissertation sur la nature des cometes* (1665). (See C. de Waard, 'Les Objections de Pierre Petit'; Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 356–8; Labrousse, *L'Entrée de Saturne au Lion*, pp. 26–8, 103.) He also published several short treatises on physics and biology (*De motu animalium spontanea*, 1660; *De ignis et lucis natura*, 1663; *Dissertations académiques sur la nature du froid et du chaud*, 1671). Petit corresponded with Oldenburg in 1663 and 1665 (OC ii, pp. 115, 594).

³ *perdiu MS.* 'Perdiu' ('for a long time') makes sense, but 'perdius et pernox' is the stock phrase in post-classical Latin.

⁴ See Letter 133 n. 2.

⁵ *Lettres et discours*, e.g. p. 652: 'this rare spirit [...] retains, after fifty years, a passion for the sciences and a diligence in searching after wonderful discoveries which cannot be valued too highly' ('ce rare esprit [...] conserue depuis cinquante ans vne ardeur pour les Sciences, & une diligence pour la recherche des belles inuentions qu'on ne sçauroit trop estimer'). Letter 87 in *Lettres et discours* (pp. 677–83) is addressed to Petit in highly respectful terms.

⁶ In *ibid.*, letter 83 (pp. 644–63), addressed to M. de Vitré, Sorbière gave an account of Giacomo Maria Favi, of the family of Marescotti in Bologna, who travelled in Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and England, collecting 'exact copies of everything he found in the arts, sciences, and laws' ('les fiddleles copies de tout ce qu'il trouueroit dans les Arts, & dans les Sciences, dans les Loix' (p. 651)), and died young (in his late thirties) in Paris in 1645, at the house of the sculptor Bourdoni in the Tuileries (p. 652). He also recorded that Petit had seen 'several thick volumes' ('plusieurs gros Volumes' (p. 653)) by Favi. Sorbière's account of Favi was translated into English by John Evelyn, who printed it in the prefatory material to his *Sculptura* (1662: sigs. A5–B1).

⁷ See Letter 150 n. 2.

⁸ *De cive.*

⁹ Abraham du Prat



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 153 7 [/17] September 1663 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from Chatsworth (07 September 1663 – 17 September 1663)

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LETTER 153 7 [/17] SEPTEMBER 1663 *HOBBS TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM CHATSWORTH*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 12, fos. 162–3 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 191 (transcript).

Printed in Tönnies, 'Analekten', pp. 309–10.

S^r,

I receiued yesterday your letter of August the 22. Wherein you aduertise me what there is neer the towne fit for the purpose, whereof we discoursed when I sawe you last.¹ But there is not ground enough for me to employ my friends at London by letters from hence. But you promise a more exact account hereafter; which when I shall receiue I will study the way of bringing it to passe. And it is likely I shall be (if I liue) by that time at London. This time of going about such a busines is the most unproper that can be. For there is nothing at this time so much in hand at the Court as the cutting off of pensions,² and the abridging of expences, as I doubt not but you know already. And I begin to feare that my pension may cease as well as other mens. I will therefore sollicite nothing in this busines till I come my selfe to London. I thanke you for letting me know my brother³ is in health. If you see him before you come up, I pray you remember me kindly to him.

I am S^r

your most humble and obliged seruant
Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth Septemb. the 7th 1663.

[addressed:] To ray most honoured frend M^r. John Awbrey Esq^{re}. at Easton Pierse.⁴ to be left at the Post house in Chippenham.

NOTES

¹ Aubrey's letter has not apparently survived; the 'purpose' mentioned here was most probably Hobbes's plan to found a free school at Malmesbury. Aubrey later recorded that Hobbes formed such a plan in 1665, telling him that 'if I [sc. Aubrey] could find out something in our country that was in his [sc. the King's] guift, he did beleeeve he could beg it of his majestie [...] After enquiry I found out a piece of land in Bradon-forest (of about 25 *li.* per annum value) that was in his majesties guift, which he designed to have obtained of his majestie for a salary for a schoolmaster; but the queen's priests smelling-out the designe and being his enemies, hindred this publique and charitable intention' (Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fo. 43, printed in *ABL* i, pp. 342–3).

² In Aug. or Sept. 1663 'a stopp upon all pencons' was ordered (see Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, i, p. 542).

³ See Letter 143 n. 4.

⁴ See Letter 143 n. 5.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 154 [11/] 21 September 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Amsterdam (11 September 1663 - 21 September 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 154 [11/] 21 SEPTEMBER 1663 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM AMSTERDAM*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 54 (original).

Monsieur

Je n'ay pas uoulu Vous donner aucunes nouuelles de mon arriuee à Paris, ny de mon voyage en Hollande,¹ que je n'eusse entierement conclu Vostre affaire. J'ay mis uos ouurages entre les mains de Monsieur Blaeu.² Il en fera une belle edition in 4°, & aura grand soin de la correction. Il seroit a desirer que Vous priassiès M. Faithorne,³ qui a Vostre crayon, de grauer Vostre portraict in 4° pour mettre [Vostre *deleted*] au deuant de uos oeuvres, & Vous ne deuès pas faire difficulté de faire cette depence, qui Vous fera honneur, & plaisir à tous Vos amis & lecteurs. Je Vous prie de donner à Monsieur le Comte de Deuonshire la Relation de la Cour de Rome⁴ dont je luy auois parlé & que je Vous enuoye. Je pars dans peu de jours pour France, n'ayant eu ici autre chose à faire que de Vous y seruir, mais je ne croy pas d'arriuer à Paris auant la fin du mois d'octobre, car je dois passer par Rheims & y sejourner un peu. Mon uoyage sera long, penible, & dangereux, [car je *deleted*] puis que je prens le chemin de Liege & des Ardennes, c'est pourquoy j'ay besoin que Vous m'assistiès de Vos prieres, & Vous auès peut estre besoin de ma conseruation. Je suis asseuré que Vous n'auès point de meilleur ami, ny de plus fidelle seruiteur [> que moy], & Vous le pouuès bien juger par ce que je uiens de faire. Je Vous demande en recompence la continuation de Vostre amitié, & quelque part dans les bonnes graces de Monsieur Vostre cher Mecene, qui à mon coeur, & [> qui] est en uerité un des plus honnestes hommes que j'aye ueu de sa qualité. Je n'estime pas de luy donner en disant cela une petite louange, Nam rarò sensus in illa communis fortuna,⁵ & vous scauès ce que nous en auons dit ensemble pleins d'admiration pour sa

bonté. Dieu Vous le conserue, & Vous à luy. Adieu, Monsieur Mon cher Maistre, Mon Reuerend Pere. Ne m'escruiés point que Vous n'ayès receu de mes lettres de Paris. Je suis tout à Vous.

Sorbiere.

A Amsterdam le 21. de Sept. 1663.

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Translation of Letter 154

Sir,

I did not want to give you any news of my arrival in Paris, nor of my journey to Holland,¹ until I had completely finished dealing with your business. I have given your works to M. Blaeu.² He will produce a fine edition of them in quarto, and will take great care over correcting the proofs. It would be a good thing if you could ask Mr Faithorne,³ who has the drawing of you, to make an engraving of your portrait in quarto to place at the front of your works. You should not raise any objections to this extra expense, which will do you honour and give pleasure to your friends and readers.

Please give the Earl of Devonshire the *Account of the Roman Curia*⁴ which I talked to him about, and which I am sending to you. I am leaving in a few days' time for France, since I have had no other business to do here except yours. But I do not think I shall arrive in Paris before the end of October, as I must travel via Rheims and stay there for a while. My journey will be long, difficult, and dangerous, since I am taking the road which goes through Liège and the Ardennes. So I need you to help me with your prayers; and perhaps you have need of my preservation. I am certain that you have no one who is a better friend or a more faithful servant than I am; and you can judge that for yourself by what I have just done. In return, I require you to continue your friendship towards me, and to share with me some part of the good favours of his Lordship your dear Maecenas, to whom I am devoted. He is truly one of the most perfect gentlemen among all the nobles of his rank that I have seen. In saying that, I do not think I am eulogizing him, 'for seldom does one find the common feelings of humanity in someone of his fortune'.⁵ And you know what we both said to each other about him, full as we were of admiration for his goodness. May God preserve him for you, and you for him. Farewell, my dear master, my reverend Father. Do not write to me at all until you have received letters from me from Paris. I am entirely yours to serve you.

Sorbière

Amsterdam, 21 September 1663

NOTES

The year of this letter can be established by reference to Letters 154 and 157.

¹ Having returned from England to France earlier in Sept., Sorbière had immediately travelled to Holland (see the Biographical Register).

² Latin works by Hobbes, for the collection (*Opera philosophica*) eventually published by Johan Blaeu in 1668.

³ William Faithorne (1616–91), the engraver, had been an active royalist during the Civil War; he was arrested by parliamentary forces (together with Inigo Jones) after the sack of Basing House, but permitted to leave England. He may well have made Hobbes's acquaintance in Paris, where he was patronized by Michel de Marolles (a keen collector of prints) and worked under Robert de Nanteuil. He returned to England in 1650, and was active as an engraver and print-seller in London until c.1680. On Ms engraved portrait of Hobbes (which was included in the 1668 *Opera philosophica*) see Fagan, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 41–2.

⁴ Angelo Correr, *Relazione della corte romana* (Leiden, 1662), translated as *Relation de la cour de Rome* (Leiden, 1663).

⁵ Juvenal, *Saturae*, 8. 73.



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François du Prat, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 155 19/29 September 1663 François du Prat to Hobbes, from Paris (19 September 1663 – 29 September 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 155 19/29 SEPTEMBER 1663 *FRANÇOIS DU PRAT TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 79 (original).

S.^r

In M.^r Sorbieri's absence, I take upon me to answer a Letter w.^{ch}, being att his house, I knew to be one of y.^{rs}, by y.^e superscription w.^{ch}. is in Jame's hand.¹ And as they told me y.^t it had beene there above a fourth-night, I can not but thinke y.^t you may be in expectation of [> an] answer, w.^{ch}. M.^r Sorbieri's journey into Flanders, & y.^e low countrys² hath beene, & is like to be, for a while, an impediment to. I shall procure, if it be possible, y.^t your letter be sent to him, & an answer from him to you; But, they being travellers & sojourning but little in every place, 'tis hard to guesse where they may be when y.^e letter should come to them. His last, indeed, was from Colon,³ but he was to goe yet further. I have putt first of all this part of my letter, because to you, as I suppose, it is most important: Now, S.^r, I must tell you as to my true friend, in few words what importeth me [*word deleted* > alsoe]. I came hither, as you may remember, by My L.^d Peterburgh's⁴ order, who having noe further occasion for a secretary, is like to leave me here. He adviseth me to goe & waite upon My L.^d Sandwich's sonne⁵ in a journey through France, but as a companion, saithe he, not as a governor, y.^t is without any other allowance, y.ⁿ of horse & meate: y.^t you allready understand not to be of my interest. Of y.^e other side, I have found my father's owne businesse so out of order by his not understanding [> ye] Law nor Sutes w.^{ch} he hath beene put to by y.^e

wickednes of those y.^t were debtors to my Oncle,⁶ as [[>] y.^t] I shall thinke my selfe happy if I can escape being a partner in such tedeous businesses. You knowe, S.^r, what I told you att my departure, y.^t if My Lord Devonshire was pleas'd to accept of my service to M.^r Charles,⁷ when I should come home, I should with as much gladnesse returne to it, as ever I had when I came first to it. This was, & still is my right sense, Upon w^{ch}. I beseech you to give me answer. I shall make w.th. My Lord no other bargaine y.ⁿ what was att first, & if My L. does not himselfe judge, wh[en *page torn*] he sees my worke, y.^t I deserve any more, I am satisfied not to have it. I hope, My Lord will finde & you to, y.^t y.^e time y.^t I have beene out of his family, hath not beene a time absolutely lost to his service but y.^t rather I have improov'd my selfe in it. I have brought y.^r. Leviathan here, some friends of mine & I are every day examining y.^e French of it; I shall att my returne give you an account of it. I am, ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν χερίλων,⁸

S.^r

Your most humble & sincere servant
Du Prat.

Paris Sep.^{be} 29th 19th Chez M.^r de Ninville,⁹ au bout du pont s.^t Michel, au coin de la ruë de la Huchette.¹⁰

[*postscript:*] S.^r

I have this very day spoken to a bookseller about y.^e printing of y.^r Leviathan here, who did open his eares to y.^t proposition. & answer'd y.^t y.^r de Cive in French¹¹ is sold publickly & y.^t you were an author so well knowne, as he made no doubt but y.^e booke would sell away. For my part, I have such a minde to y.^e worke, as y.^t I shall never be satisfi'd till I come to an end of it. But we finde so many faults in y.^e French expressions contracted in England, as y.^t I despaire ever to doe it soe well there, as to be good to be read here: I would stay here five or six months to see it fulfill'd to my mind & to y.^{rs}, if I was but sure to gett my expences out of it; And I should noe & then send into England y.^e coppies of our corrections to be censur'd by you.

[*addressed:*] for M.^r Hobbes

NOTES

¹ James Wheldon, baker to the Earl of Devonshire, and Hobbes's amanuensis; the letter has not apparently survived.

² See Letter 154, and the entry for Sorbière in the Biographical Register.

³ = Cologne.

⁴ Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough (1623–97), whose secretary du Prat had been during his governorship of Tangier (see the entry for du Prat in the Biographical Register).

⁵ Lord Sandwich was Edward Mountagu, first Earl of Sandwich (1625–72); his son was Edward, Lord Hinchinbrooke, later second Earl of Sandwich (1648–88) (see the entry for du Prat in the Biographical Register).

⁶ Abraham du Prat.

⁷ François du Prat had acted as tutor and travelling companion to the third Earl of Devonshire's elder son, William, from 1657 to 1661.

⁸ 'from my heart, from my principles but not from my lips' (i.e. 'in heart and mind, though not able physically to speak to you').

⁹ Robert de Ninville was the publisher of Sorbière's *Relations, lettres*, where his address is stated on the title-page as 'rue de la Bouclerie, at the end of the pont Saint-Michel' ('rue de la Bouderie, au bout du Pont S. Michel').

¹⁰ 'At the house of M. de Ninville, at the end of the pont Saint-Michel, on the corner of the rue de la Huchette.'

¹¹ In translations by Sorbière (*Elemens philosophiques du citoyen*, 1649) and du Verdus (*Les Elemens de la politique*, 1660).



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Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence (1679)*: Letter 156 [30 October/] 9 November 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (30 October 1663 – 09 November 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 156 [30 OCTOBER/] 9 NOVEMBER 1663 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 327^v–328^r (transcript).

Enclosure: BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 175–6 (transcript).

Doctissimo, Acutissimo, Sapientissimo & Optimo Viro D. Thomae Hobbio, Amico suo Veteri, Samuel Sorberius.

Quid de Scriptis tuis factum fuerit jamdudum nosti, Vir Clarissime, ex Epistolis meis Amstelodamo datis & ad Typographum tuum Londinensem transmissis.¹ Spem mihi facit Blauius² noster se breui typis suis elegantioribus Editionem Voluminis in 4^o procuraturum, & a mendis quantum fieri potest immunem. Ne autem in edenda Anonymi Epistola³ ordinem constitutum sequeretur, statim redux significavi, dum tu poteris ad me mittere Lutetiam quae addenda censueris. En verò quae Leodij Vir Summus ad me scripsit circa team Duplicationis Cubi demonstrationem.⁴ Judicabis ipse cujus sint ponderis, dum nihil ego aliud indicabo, quàm quo scripta sint animo, & a quali homine. In

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toto Literatorum orbe nihil exactius, eruditiúsque est, sed nec candidius benignisque. Is ille est qui Mesolabum⁵ scripsit, & duarum mediarum proportionalium inter extremas datas per Circulum & Ellipsim vel Hyperbolam inuentionem infinitis modis aperuit. Qui Problematum quorumlibet solidorum effectiorem per easdem curuas, ijsdem modis exhibuit. Cujus librum in hunc fasciculum conijcere nolui, sed per amicam occasionem auctoris dono quamprimùm nactus ero mittam. Interest sanè famae tuae vt placidè & attentè perpendas ejus objectiones nè in Parallogismum impingas, cujus vno ore fermè omnes Mathematici Demonstrationem

team arguunt, & errorem ingenuè tuum expungas, vel aliorum reueles tam clarè & tam manifestè vt nullus supersit locus refutationi. Quodquidem si praestes in amica ista cum Eruditissimo & sapientissimo Slusio Velitatione est vt deinceps securus de alijs omnibus minoris gentium Mathematicis degas. Fac itaque vt Responsum tuum vel Retractionem mam breui ostendere possim subtilitatis tuae specimen vel egregium virtutis tuae argumentum. Vale Vir Optime Maxime & me semper ama.

Lutetiae IX Nouemb 1663.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

The Correspondence (1679): Letter 156 [30 October/] 9 November 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (30 October 1663 - 09 November 1663): Enclosure to Letter 156 Letter from René-François de Sluse to Samuel Sorbière

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660-1679

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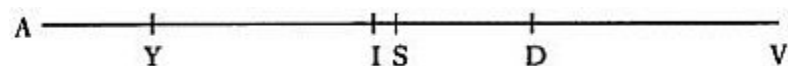
[*enclosed:*]

[29 SEPTEMBER/] 9 OCTOBER 1663

René-François de Sluse to Samuel Sorbière

Viro Clarissimo Samueli Sorberio τῷ πάνυ Renatus franciscus Slusius S.P.D.

Duplicationem cubi per rectam et circulum, cujus pro tua humanitate participera me fieri voluisti, legi Vir Clar^{me}; et si quid in his rebus valeret auctoritas, tanta est apud me viri magni a quo eam accepisti, vt plane mihi persuaderem ab ipso factum esse—fieri quod posse negabam sed quoniam in erudito illo puluere, voti tantum, vt sui, demonstrationi secus est, patere quaeso vt sepositâ tantisper auctoris consideratione, rem ad calculos reuocem, et quid, non a quo dictum sit, ἀκριβείας γεωμετρικῆς stylo examinem.



Proponitur recta AV, secta in D, ita vt AD sit dupla DV: sumiter in AD, recta AS aequalis semidiagonali quadrati super AD descripti, et ex AS resecatur SY aequalis DV, ac tandem infertur; inter extremas AD et

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DV, maiorem Mediarum esse DV, sitque DS communis, patet SV aequalem esse DY: et cū AS sit aequalis semidiagonali, [siue]⁶ mediae inter AD et DV, euidens est VS, vel DY aequalem esse aggregate extremarūm, minús mediâ inter easdem. Ex auctoris [agite]⁷ mente formari potest haec assertio, inter extremas datas in ratione duplâ, major duarum mediarum in continuâ analogiâa, aequalis est aggregato extremarūm, minús mediâ inter

easdem: quae quantùm a veritate recedat vel hinc facile deprehendi potest, quod positis extremis 2, et 1, sequeretur cubum $3-\sqrt{2}$ aequalem esse 4. Sed clariùs fortasse refelletur si numeros majores applicemus. Sit igitur AD 58, erit DV 29, et cùm AS sit media inter VD et DA, erit illa $\sqrt{1682}$. Itaque AS major erit 41, cùm quadratùm 41 sit 1681. Cum vero VS dicatur esse major duarum mediarum quarum extremae AD, DV sunt in ratione duplâ, erit cubus VS subduplus cubi AD, itaque cum VI major sit VS, erit ejus cubus major quam subduplus. Tota AV est 87, a quo detractâ AI, 41, remanet VI 46

46

46

276

1840

2116

46

12696

84640

cujus cubus est 97336

58

58

464

2900

3364

58

.....
pg 563

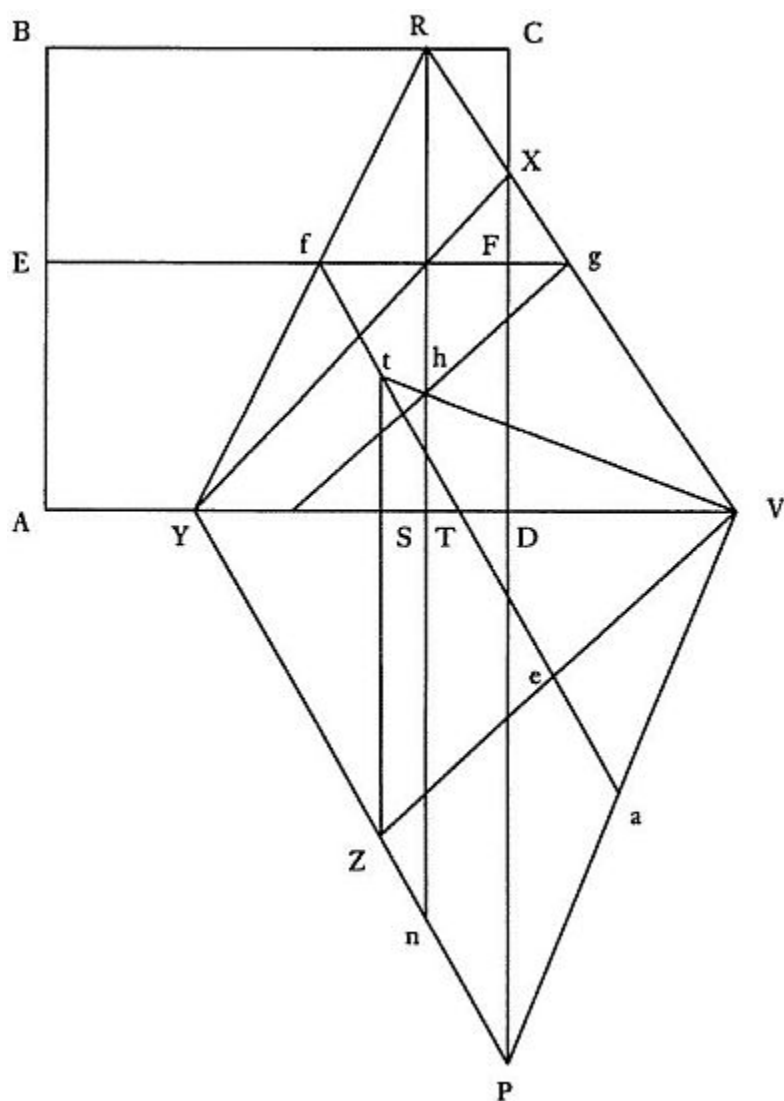
26912

168200

est autem cubus AD 195112

Et ejus dimidium 97556

Patet igitur cubum VI minorem esse cubi AD dimidio, et per consequens cubum VS vel DY, esse eodem etiam multò minorem: nec VS vel DY esse majorem mediarum, sed ab illa deficere. Cum verò subjungit Auctor *deceptos esse, qui demonstrationem quum non ingreditur omne id quod assumitur ad constructionem, bonum esse negant*, Nae ille dicipitur; et satis mirari nequeo, ipsum hoc uno τεκμήριῳ, non agnouisse demonstrationis suae ἀσυλλογιστίαν Si enim demonstrationem non



ingreditur [rectae]⁸ AS longitudo, quid opus erat eam aequalem semidiagonali accipere? Majore enim vel minore assumtâ nihilominus demonstratio procedit, vt euidens est ex adjuncto schemate, in quo eadem omnia, quae in auctoris figurâ, inuenies, praeter rectam AS quam longiorem accepimus. Est enim ABCD quadratum et AS aequalis BR, et DP aequalis DA, et YRVP parallelogrammum, et eadem omnia quae in constructione deduxit. Cum vero probare vult rectam ef transire per punctum h, vt ostendat tam t et h quam n et z idem esse punctum; et assumit angulos ztc, etV, VRh, hvg esse aequales; recte procedit, et recté etiam infert puncta V h t esse in eadem rectâ (hoc enim verum est) Sed non recté concludit t et h idem esse punctum; cùm nec in meâ nec in illius figura id vilo modo sequatur, sed tantum tria puncta V h t in eadem (vt dixi) rectâ reperiri. At hoc non sufficit vt enim reliquam demonstrationem pertexat, requiritur punctum h cùm puncto t idem esse: quod quidem ex determinatione longitudinis ipsius AS deducere debebat; cum demonstrationis ratio postulet, vt $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\iota\upsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$, aliud ab his necessario sequatur $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$. Sed haec alteriùs sunt contemplationis: vt et illud, quod Geometras et Arithmeticos reprehendat vir eximius, cùm tamen eorum mentem non satis assecutus videatur. Finem itaque faciam, si prius hanc meam $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon$ eruditorum omnium, ac tuae in primis censurae submisero: quàm si forte Auctori innotescere volueris, magno me beneficio affectum predicabo, si eâdem in illam libertate, quâ in ejus demonstratione examinandâ vsus sum, inquirat. Rogo tantum vt eum certiore reddas, me non obtrectandi studio, sed amore veritatis, pro quâ oportet, vt ait ille, καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναρπῆν, haec scripsisse. Fauere enim Viri Magni gloriae me profiteor; et graue mihi accideret, si hoc senili opusculo, fama, quam merito magnam adeptus est, aliquid detrimenti pateretur. Vale vir Clar.^{me} meque ama.

Dabam Leodicij a.d. VII Eid. Octobr. MDCLXIII.



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Translation of Letter 156

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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Translation of Letter 156

Samuel Sorbière to his old friend, the most learned, intelligent, wise, and good man Mr Thomas Hobbes.

From the letters which I sent from Amsterdam to your London printer, you will already know what has been done about your writings.¹ Our friend Blaeu² gives me to hope that he will soon produce the edition in quarto, in the more elegant of his typefaces, and with as few errors as possible. But as soon as I got back to Paris I let him know that

pg 565

he should not follow the established sequence in publishing that 'Epistola anonymi',³ until you have sent to me here at Paris whatever additions you may want to make.

Here are the things which that excellent man at Liège wrote to me about your proof of the duplication of the cube.⁴ You yourself can judge how valid they are, while I shall confine myself to describing their author, and the spirit in which he wrote them. In the entire literary world there is nobody more accurate and learned, and nobody more candid and good-natured. He is the person who wrote the *Mesolabum*,⁵ and revealed an infinite number of ways of finding two mean proportionals between any given extremes, using a circle and an ellipse or hyperbola. He also showed how, by the same methods, to produce any number of problems of solids using the same curves. I did not want to enclose his book about that in the same packet as this letter; but as soon as I find some favourable opportunity I shall send it to you as a gift from the author. It is in the interests of your reputation that you should consider his objections calmly and attentively, so that you should not cling firmly to that paralogism which nearly all the mathematicians agree in claiming to find in your demonstration, and that you should honestly strike out your mistake, or demonstrate the mistake of the other mathematicians so clearly and evidently that there can be no further possibility of refutation. For indeed, if you are the victor in this friendly skirmish with the most wise and learned de Sluse, the fact is that you will never have to worry thereafter about all the other mathematicians of lesser rank. So please enable me to make use soon of your reply, or your retraction, to show him either an example of your subtlety or an outstanding proof of your moral virtue. Farewell, best and greatest of men, and love me always.

Paris, 9 November 1663

NOTES

This letter, which lacks an outer sheet bearing any form of address, was probably sent via Andrew Crooke (see Letter 156 n. 1).

¹ This probably refers to Letter 154 (concerning the Blaeu edition of Hobbes's *Opera philosophica*).

² Probably Johan Blaeu.

³ This work by Hobbes, which was never published, was a criticism of Huygens (see Letter 160). Hobbes had already produced a printed criticism of Huygens (now lost) in reply to Letter 148 (see Letter 149 n. 3). The 'Epistola anonymi' was probably either a revised version of that work, or a new response to Huygens's reply (Letter 149). The substance of its argument is probably contained in *De principiis et ratiocinatione geometrarum*, XXI. See Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, pp. 41–4.

⁴ See the enclosure to this letter.

⁵ De Sluse's most important mathematical work, published in 1659.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Translation of enclosure to Letter 156

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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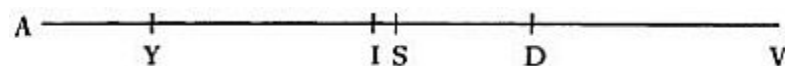
Translation of enclosure to Letter 156

René-François de Sluse sends greetings to the famous and most distinguished Samuel Sorbière.

Most distinguished Sir, I have read the duplication of the cube by means of a straight line and a circle, which you kindly desired to share with me. Such is the authority (in my eyes) of the great man who sent it to you that, if authority carried any weight in these matters, I should certainly persuade myself that he had done it—something I had insisted was impossible. But since, in that sort of learned controversy, such a

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strong wish (like his) is still not the same as a demonstration, please let me leave aside for a moment the author's treatment of the subject and bring it back to an accurate reckoning; whatever has been said (regardless of who has said it), let me examine it in a geometrically exact way.



A straight line AV is proposed, intersected at D, so that AD is twice DV. On AD we assume a straight line AS, equal to the semidiagonal of the square based on AD, and out of AS we cut off SY, equal to DV: it is concluded, finally, that DY is the greater of the means between the extremes AD and DV. However, since SY is assumed to be equal to DV, and since DS is common to both of them, SV is obviously equal to DY; and since AS is equal to the semidiagonal, that is⁽⁶⁾, to the mean between AD and DV, it is clear that VS, or DY, is equal to the sum of the extremes, minus the mean between them. Well then⁽⁷⁾, according to the author the following assertion can be made: 'between two extremes in double proportion, the greater of two means in continual analogy is equal to the sum of the extremes minus the mean between them'. How far this is from the truth can easily be discovered, if you like, from the following fact: if one assumes that the extremes are 2 and 1, it will follow that the cube of $3-\sqrt{2}$ equals 4.

However, the disproof will perhaps be clearer if we use larger numbers. So let AD be 58; DV will be 29; and since AS is the mean between VD and DA, it will be $\sqrt{1,682}$. Therefore AS will be greater than 41 (because 41 squared is 1,681). So let AI be taken as equal to 41: VI will be greater than VS. Now, since VS is said to be the greater of two means whose extremes, AD and DV, are in double proportion, the cube of VS will be half the cube of AD; therefore, since VI is greater than VS, its cube will be more than half the cube of AD. The whole line AV is 87; if we take away AI, which is 41, that leaves VI, which is 46.

46

46

276

1,1840

2,116

46

pg 567

12,696

	84,460

of which the cube is:	97,336
	58
	58

	464
	2,900

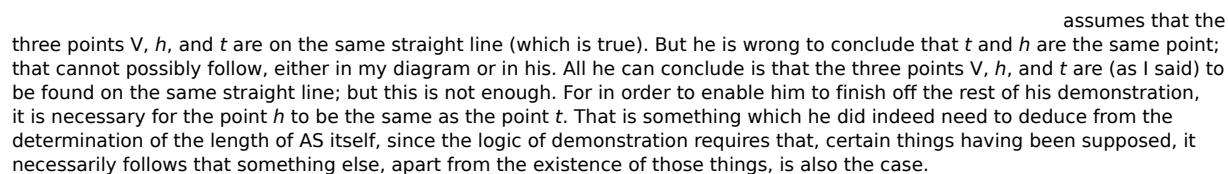
	3,364
	58

	26,912
	168,200

But the cube of AD is:	195,112

and half of that is:	97,556

So it is clear that the cube of VI is less than half the cube of AD; consequently, the cube of VS or DY is also much less than that. Nor is VS or DY the greater of the means: they fall short of it. So in fact when the author adds that 'those people are mistaken, who deny that a demonstration is well made because it does not make use of everything that was assumed for its construction', he is really the one who is mistaken. I cannot cease marvelling at the fact that he was not alerted, by this one sign, to the illogicality of his demonstration. If the length of the straight⁽⁸⁾ line AS does not enter into his demonstration, what was the point of taking it as equal to the semidiagonal? Whether it be taken as greater or smaller, the demonstration will go ahead just the same: this can be seen from the enclosed diagram, in which you will find all the things that are in the author's diagram, except that I take the straight line AS to be longer. It includes the square ABCD, AS equal to BR, DP equal to DA, the parallelogram YRVP, and all the same things that he worked out in his construction. Now, when he wants to prove that the straight line *ef* passes through the point *h*, in order to show that *t* is the same point as *h* and *n* the same point as *z*, and when he assumes that the angles *ztc*, *etV*, *VRh*, and *hvg* are equal, he proceeds correctly, and is also correct to infer that *Vh* and *Vt* are the same straight line—if he



But these matters belong to a different investigation; so too does the accusation which this eminent man makes against geometers and arithmeticians, whilst seeming, however, not to have sufficiently understood their thinking. So I shall regard my work as finished, when

.....
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once I have submitted the findings of this examination of mine to the judgement of all learned men—and to your judgement in the first place. If by any chance you wish to make it known to the author, I shall declare myself greatly favoured if he investigates it with the same frankness that I made use of when examining his demonstration. I merely ask you to assure him that I wrote these things not out of any desire to disparage him, but out of a love of the truth—for the sake of which, as he said, it is necessary 'even to destroy our own property'. I freely declare that I am a well-wisher to the fame of that great man; and I should be very sorry if the deservedly great reputation which he has gained were to suffer any damage as a result of this little work of his old age. Farewell, most distinguished Sir, and love me.

Liège, 9 October 1663.

NOTES

⁶ sine *MS.*

⁷ agitur *MS.*

⁸ rect *MS.*



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Prat, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 157 4/14 November 1663 François du Prat to Hobbes, from Paris (04 November 1663 - 14 November 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 157 4/14 NOVEMBER 1663 *FRANÇOIS DU PRAT TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 55.

Monsieur

J'ai receu celle par laquelle vous m'avés fait savoir comme M.^r le Comte n'a peu encore se resoudre.¹ Et j'ai à vous demander et à Monsieur le Comte, des excuses de ce qu'avant qu'avoir sceu toutafait sa volonte je me suis engage aupres de My L.^d Hinchinbrooke, fils de M.^r le Comte de Sandwiche.² Je ne me serois pas si tost déterminé si je n'y avois esté obligé par des grandes raisons, sachant bien celles que j'ai de considerer la maison où vous estes, et ayant beaucoup de reconnoissance pour le bon traktement que j'y ai receu. M.^r de Sorbiere chez qui je vous écris presentement, vous a écrit la semaine passé, et vous a envoyé par l'adresse de M.^r Crooke³ des papiers d'importance. Il vous prie, quand vous aurés quelque chose pour lui de vouloir adresser a lui mesme, rue des petits champs tout devant la croix, chez Mad.^e Caburet⁴ la vefve. Il y a ici un Peripateticien fameux appellé M.^r de la Chambre, qui a fait depuis peu Le Systeme de L'Ame⁵ qu'il adresse au Roi de France. On en a leu ici l'epistre qui contient de belles et grandes paroles, le tems en donnant lieu a l'impression du reste, fera voir ce qu'il contient. Je suis

Monsieur

Votre treshumble et tresobeiss,^t serviteur et disciple
DuPrat

Nov.^{bre} 14.^e 1663

[addressed:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Hobbes, att y.^e Little Salisbury-house⁶ in y.^e Strand a Londres

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Translation of Letter 157

Sir,

I have received the letter in which you informed me that the Earl has not still been able to come to a decision.¹ I must ask both you and the Earl to excuse me for the fact that, before being entirely sure of his decision, I have entered the service of Lord Hinchinbrooke, the son of the Earl of Sandwich.² I would not have made up my mind so soon had not important considerations forced me to do so, as I am well aware of what reason I have to consider the household of which you are a member, and feel very grateful for the good treatment I received when I was there,

M. Sorbière, at whose home I am writing this letter, wrote to you last week and forwarded some important papers to you via Mr Crooke.³ When you have something to send to him, he begs you to address it to him personally, as follows: at the house of widow Caburet,⁴ directly in front of the cross, rue des Petits Champs.

There is a famous Aristotelian here called M. de la Chambre, who has recently written *Le Système de l'âme*,⁵ addressed to the King of France. The dedicatory epistle has been read here; it contains some fine and grandiloquent phrases. Time will tell what the rest of it contains, when it is printed. I am,

Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant and disciple,
du Prat

November 4/14 1663

[addressed: see text]

NOTES

The year of this letter is established by comparison with Letter 157.

⁶ See Letter 143 n. 6.

¹ That is, a decision on du Prat's request that he re-enter the service of the third Earl of Devonshire (see Letter 155).

² See *ibid.*, n. 5.

³ Andrew Crooke (see the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke').

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ On Marin Cureau de la Chambre see Letter 77 n. 14. His *Système de l'âme* (1664) was the second part of his *L'Art de connoistre les hommes* (1659); it is mainly argued from scholastic assumptions, and includes discussions of such topics as how angels perceive objects.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Prat, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 158 21 November/1 December 1663 François du Prat to Hobbes, from Paris (21 November 1663 - 01 December 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 158 21 NOVEMBER/1 DECEMBER 1663 *FRANÇOIS DU PRAT TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 49.

Monsieur,

Je vous ai écrit il y a quelque tems, pour vous dire comme je me suis engagé ici pour un second voyage en Italie;¹ J'ai depuis cela pensé plusieurs fois à ce que vous avés pris la peine de m'ecrire Que Monsieur le Comte² ne se pouvoit pas encore resoudre sur l'offre que je lui ferois de mon service; Si donc, Monsieur, La chose est encore en estat, Et que Monsieur le Comte agreast pour Mons.^r son fils le service de mon frere qui a eu l'honneur de lui en rendre desja, je le lui puis offrir, et suis asseuré qu'il prendroit volontiers cette occasion, dans la conjoncture ou sont les affaires qu'il avoit embrassées, pour aller apprendre l'Anglois, et témoigner à Monsieur le Comte qu'il n'y a personne dans notre famille qui n'ait beaucoup de passion pour son service; Je vous supplie treshumblement, Monsieur, de me vouloir faire savoir la réponse de Monsieur le Comte là dessus, Et de me vouloir croire

Monsieur

Votre treshumble et tresobeiss.^t serviteur

DuPrat

Decemb. I.st st.^o n.^o

A Paris, chez M.^r de Ninville³ [*word deleted*] au bout du Pont S.^t Michel proche la ruë de la Huchette.

[addressed:] For my most Honor'd Friend M.^r Hobbes, att My L.^{ds} of Devonshire Lodgings, y^e little Salisbury-house in Long-Acre, Londres.

[readdressed:] My lord deuonshire Being at little Salisbury house in the Streind

Translation of Letter 158

Sir,

I wrote to you some time ago, to tell you that I have committed myself here to a second journey to Italy.¹ Since then I have often thought about

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what you took the trouble to inform me of in your letter: that the Earl² was still unable to come to a decision about my offer to serve him. So, Sir, if the matter is still unresolved, and if the Earl were willing to accept for his son the service of my brother (who has already had the honour of serving him), I can offer it to him. I am certain that my brother, given the state which his present undertakings are in, would willingly seize this opportunity to go and learn English, and show the Earl that there is no one in our family that does not passionately desire to serve him. With all humility, Sir, I beg you to let me know what the Earl's answer to this proposal may be, and to believe me,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Prat.

1 December (New Style)

Paris, at M. de Ninville's³ house, at the end of the Pont Saint-Michel,
near the rue de la Huchette.

[addressed and readdressed: see text]

NOTES

¹ See Letter 157.

² The third Earl of Devonshire.

³ See Letter 155 n. 9.



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Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence (1679)*: Letter 159 [24 November/] 4 December 1663 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (24 November 1663 - 04 December 1663)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 159 [24 NOVEMBER/] 4 DECEMBER 1663 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 56 (original).

Monsieur,

Je vous ay enuoyé par l'adresse à M. Croock¹ uostre libraire, une objection de M. Sluys² à laquelle j'attends que Vous respondiés, ou que Vous donniés genereusemt les mains. J'ay nouuelles de M. Blaeu quil commencera d'imprimer uos ouurages à la fin de Januier prochain.³ C'est son interest autant que le Vostre d'en haster la publication. J'espere que Vous en uerrés en bonne santè cinq ou six editions. Enuoyès moy par uoye d'ami ce que Vous auès à adjouster, ou a changer, & aimés moy tousjours. Faites aussi que Monsieur le Comte

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de Deuonshire m'honore de quelque peu de son estime, & assure de mon tres humble seruice. Je luy tesmoigneray mon respect s'il m'arriue de faire une Relation de mon uoyage,⁴ de quoy l'on me sollicite; & cependant je parle souuent & en bon lieu, de sa uertu, qui certes respond bien a la protection qu'il prend en Vous du plus uertueux homme de ma connoissance. Que je l'aime de l'amitié qu'il a pour Vous, & qu'elle me signifie de grandes qualités dans son ame. Il me souuint l'autre jour parlant de luy à M. Gaches⁵ ministre de charenton de la pensee qu'il auoit d'enuoyer M. son fils en France pour y changer d'air, avec un precepteur, & M. Gaches m'en offrit un, & mesme sa maison à Paris, M. Kyllegre⁶ & M. Lockeyt⁷ peuuent informer Monsieur le Comte du merite de ceste personne, & il suffit de l'indication que je Vous en fais Je suis,

Monsieur,
Vostre tres humble & tres obeissant seruiteur
Sorbiere

A Paris le 4 Dec. 1663.

[addressed:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Hobbes chez M. le Comte de Deuonshire Londres.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Translation of Letter 159

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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Translation of Letter 159

Sir,

I have sent you, via your bookseller, Mr Crooke,¹ an objection by M. de Sluse² to which I shall await either your reply, or your generous applause. I have news from M. Blaeu: he will begin printing your works at the end of January.³ It is as much in his interest as in yours to hasten their publication. I hope you will live long enough, in good health, to see five or six editions. Please send me through a friend whatever additions or alterations you have to make; and never cease to love me. Please also ensure that the Earl of Devonshire honours me with some portion of his esteem, and assure him of my humble service. I shall testify to my respect for him if I should happen to write an account of my travels,⁴ as I am requested to do; meanwhile I speak frequently, and in high places, about his virtue, which does indeed correspond well to his protection of you, the most virtuous man I know. How I love him for his affection towards you, and what great qualities of soul that affection indicates to me!

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The other day, when I was talking about him to M. Gaches,⁵ the minister at Charenton, I remembered the idea he had of sending his son to France for a change of air, with a tutor; and M. Gaches offered me one, and even offered his house in Paris as well, Messrs Killigrew⁶ and Locket⁷ can tell the Earl what a worthy person M. Gaches is, and the hint I give you about this matter is sufficient, I am,

Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
Sorbière

Paris, 4 December 1663.

[addressed:] To Mr Hobbes, at the Earl of Devonshire's house, London

NOTES

¹ Andrew Crooke (see the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke').

² Letter 156, enclosure.

³ Johan Blaeu's edition of the *Opera philosophica* was not published until 1668. The decision to include a Latin translation of *Leviathan* (see Letter 166) was probably the main reason for the delay.

⁴ Sorbière's *Relation d'un voyage* was completed on [2/] 12 Dec. 1663 and printed in Paris by [6/] 16 May 1664 (sig. a4^v and 'Privilège'): it contained fulsome praise of the Earl of Devonshire (pp. 158–60).

⁵ Raymond Gaches (c.1615–68), an eminent Huguenot minister, was pastor of Saint-Affrique (1640), Castres (1649), and Charenton (1654); he had scientific interests and wrote poetry (including a translation of the *Iliad*); his son Jean-Jacques studied at Oxford in 1662 and became an Anglican priest. (See Nayral, *Biographie castraise*; Tournier, *Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, pp. 151–2; Niderst, *Madeleine de Scudéry*, pp. 14–16.) That some connection was indeed established with the Gaches family is indicated by a copy of Pomfret's *Life of Christian Countess of Devonshire*, inscribed to Jean-Jacques Gaches: 'J. J. Gaches, a gift from the Countess of Devonshire, 30 Nov. 1684, at Roehampton' ('J. J. Gaches Ex dono Comitessae de Devonshire anno 84 mense nov: die 30. att Rohampton' (Chatsworth, Devonshire collection, unclassified); I am very grateful to Mr Michael Pearman for drawing this to my attention).

⁶ Probably Dr Henry Killigrew (1613–1700), who had been chaplain to the Duke of York since 1642 and tutor to the third Earl of Devonshire's elder son, and was appointed Master of the Savoy in 1663. See also Letter 144 n. 1.

⁷ Unidentified; possibly Sir William Lockhart (1621–75), who had been Ambassador to France from 1656 to 1659.



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Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 160 30 November/ 10 December 1663 Hobbes to Samuel Sorbière , from Hardwick (30 November 1663 - 10 December 1663)

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LETTER 160 30 NOVEMBER/ 10 DECEMBER 1663 *HOBBS TO SAMUEL SORBIÈRE , FROM HARDWICK*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 177–178^r (transcript).

Printed in *Illustrium virorum epistolae*, pp. 575²–577 (sigs. Bb3^r–4^r); Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', pp. 216–17.

Doctissimo, Prudentissimo, Amiciss. Viro D. Samueli Sorberio S.D. Thomas Hobbis

Cum literas tuas (post discessum tuum) accepissem primas, habebam quod mutatum vellem, circa tractaculum illum, quem appellaui *Epistolam Anonymi*,¹ &c. Non quod aliquid in Epistola illa falsum inueneram, sed quod vna propositionum mearum non mihi videbatur ita clarè demonstrata vt cupiebam. Praeterea melius mihi visum est Epistolam illam meo nomine signare et ad ipsum Hugenum scribere. Itaque ad Blauium ipsum scripsi Gallicè, vt Epistolam illam, si non esset jam impressa, differet ad finem totius libri; sin jam impressa esset, vt eam ex libro, meis impensis, euelleret.² Et [word deleted] promisi illi vt tractaculum quem in ejus loco substitui cuperem, ad illum transmitterem, vna cum Effigie mea circa Natalem. Ille tamen nil rescripsit, quod saltem ad meas manus perlatum sit. Vereor ne in causa sit Pestis quae Amsterdami hoc tempore grassari dicitur.

Quod attinet ad Chartulam illam Slusij quam mihi misisti,³ hoc loco aliud non dicam, quam quod objectio ejus eadem sit cum illa Professoris Greshamensis, ad quam a me jamdudum responsum est in fine Problematum meorum Physicorum;⁴ quem librum ipse habes, et Slusius habere potuit vel potest si vult. Id quod amplius respondere habeo ad objectionem illam, et praeterea ad alteram illam quae spectat non tam ad ipsum Problema quam ad Logicam vel ad naturam demonstrationis, scribam tibi seorsim, sed alio tempore,

eodem scilicet tempore, quo mittam tibi Epistolam meam de Cyclometria (aliisque rebus Geometricis) ad Hugenium:⁵ Nec dubito quin demonstrationes meae tales futurae sint quales tu ad famam meam necessarias esse scribis. Quod autem famae Slusij, Hugenij, et eorum omnium quibus demonstrationes meae videntur esse Paralogismi, interest; efficiam vt demonstrationes eorum quas contra meas ediderunt, et ipsis et omnibus hominibus appareant esse Paralogismi, exceptis illis quibus verum esse videtur lapidem multiplicatum in numerum 10 facere 10 lapides quadratos.

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Epistolam hanc expecta circa Natalem, aut citiùs, vt spero; Interea, Doctissime, Prudentissime, Amicissime Sorberi Vale.

Harduici (procul a Londinio) Nouemb. 30. Styl. Vet. 1663.

Translation of Letter 160

To his very good friend, the most learned and prudent M. Samuel Sorbière, Thomas Hobbes sends greetings.

When I received your first letter after your departure, there was something I wanted to alter concerning that little treatise which I called 'Epistola anonymi'.¹ It was not that I found anything to be untrue in that Letter, but rather that I thought one of my propositions was not demonstrated as clearly as I wished. Besides, I thought it was better to sign that letter with my name and inscribe it to Huygens himself. So I wrote to Blaeu in French, asking him to move that letter, if it was not yet printed, to the end of the whole book; or, if it was already printed, to remove it from the book at my expense.² And I promised him that I would send him the little treatise which I wanted to put in its place, together with a portrait of me, at about Christmas. But he has not written back, or at least I have not received any reply. I fear that this may be because of the plague which I hear is spreading in Amsterdam.

As for that piece of paper from de Sluse which you sent me,³ I shall say nothing about it here, except that his objection is the same as that of the Gresham Professor, which I replied to long ago at the end of my *Problemata physica*.⁴ You have a copy of that book, and de Sluse could have got one, or can get one now if he wants to. I shall send you separately what I have to say more fully in answer to that objection, and to that other objection which is concerned not so much with the problem itself as with logic or the nature of demonstration. But I shall send it at another time, that is, at the same time as I send you my letter to Huygens on cyclometry (and on other geometrical matters).⁵ And I do not doubt that my demonstrations will be such as you say are necessary for my reputation. But so far as the reputations of de Sluse and Huygens are concerned, and of all those who think my proofs are paralogisms, I shall show that the proofs which they published in criticism of me are paralogisms, and shall make this clear both to them and to all other men—except to those who think that ten times one stone equals ten square stones.

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You can expect this letter to arrive at about Christmas (or before, I hope). Meanwhile, my very good friend, most learned and prudent Sorbière, farewell.

Hardwick (far from London), 30 November (Old Style) 1663.

NOTES

¹ On the 'Epistola anonymi' see Letter 156 n. 3. Sorbière's first letter to Hobbes after his departure from England was Letter 154.

² Hobbes's letter to Johan Blaeu has not apparently survived; but the bibliographical evidence shows that Hobbes had intended the 'Epistola anonymi' to stand at the end of *Problemata physica* in place of the 'Propositiones XVI de magnitudine circuli'. These were now reinstated by Blaeu on extra pages numbered 40b–40m (sigs. E5–10). See Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, pp. 44, 150 n.

³ Letter 156, enclosure.

⁴ In *Problemata physica* (1662) Hobbes presented his duplication of the cube on pp. 115–19, the objection to it by the Gresham Professor of Geometry on p. '124' (mispaginated; sig. 16^v), and his replies on pp. '124'–'123' (mispaginated; sigs. 16^v–18^r). The Professor was Laurence Rooke (1622–62), who was appointed Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, London, in 1652, and was Professor of Geometry there from 1657 until his death. (He was succeeded immediately by Isaac Barrow; but it is evidently Rooke who is quoted in *Problemata physica*. Rooke died in June [/July] 1662: the dedicatory epistle of *Problemata physica* was read in the Royal Society on 19 [/29] Mar. 1662. See Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, p. 78, and the dated transcript of the dedicatory epistle in R.Soc. MS 366 1, item 1.) Aubrey included Rooke in a list of Hobbes's '*learned familiar friends and acquaintances*' (ABL i, pp. 365–6),

⁵ This probably refers to the revised version of 'Epistola anonymi' (see the account earlier in this letter, and Letters 156 n. 3; 162 n. 3).



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 161 19 [/29] December 1663 Hobbes to Samuel Sorbière (19 December 1663 - 29 December 1663)

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LETTER 161 19 [/29] DECEMBER 1663 HOBBS TO SAMUEL SORBIÈRE

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 162^v–164 (transcript).

Printed (fragments) in Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', pp. 215–16.

Clarissimo Doctissimoque Viro D. Samueli Sorberio salutem dicit suus T. Hobbes.

Ad literas ad me tuas (Clarissime, Amicissime Sorberi) datas 9°. Nouemb^s adeoque ad illas quas ad te scripsit doctissimus Renatus Franciscus Slusius,¹ hanc tandem habe responsionem, satis breuem; quam vt faciliùs intelligas, remitto ad te quam mihi misisti Epistolam ad te ipsius Slusij. Quod quidem juxta sententiam meam, major mediarum inter duas extremas in ratione 2 ad 1 sit aequalis aggregato extremarum dempta media ipsa, rectè dicit. Quod autem addit sequi

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inde, Cubum a 3—r2 aequalem esse 4 nego. Caecus enim essem si non viderem consequentis absurditatem. Impossibile enim est vt Cubus a 3—r2 aequalis sit 45 Cubis ab extrema minima minus r 1682, id est 45 Cubis a dicta minima extrema ablata radice numeri 1682, id est minùs linea quadam. Nam ablatio lineae vel linearum nihil omnino minuit quantitatem Cubi, facit ergo per hujusmodi calculationem vt 45 Cubi et 4 Cubi sint inter se aequales, vt a me ostensum est in responsione a me facta ad eandem objectionem jampridem factam et editam a Professore Geometriae Collegij Greshamensis;² quam fortasse D. Slusius non viderat. [word deleted] Itaque D. Slusius ponit pro AD numerum 58, diuidens scilicet AD maiorem extremam in 58 partes aequales; et per consequens DV minor extrema continet earundem partium 29 id est 29 lineas, semissem 58 linearum earundem. Quoniam autem AS est media proportionalis inter DV et DA erit illa r 1682, Itaque AS major erit quam 41 qui numerus 41 radix numeri 1681 earundem lineolarum. Hactenus quidem verè, sed Arithmeticè ratiocinatus est. Deinde sumit lineam AI aequalem radici numerum 1681, quae

radix est aequalis lineolis 41 ejusdem magnitudinis quarum AB continet 58, et quoniam AD est 58 et DV [*half line deleted*] 29, tota AV est 87, vnde detracta AI (41) remanet VI 46, lineolarum earundem; cujus Cubum, duplicata multiplicatione putat se demonstrare esse 97336, et Cubum a numero 58 esse 19512, majorem duplo numeri antecedentis. Vnde patere dicit Cubum ab VI majore quam VS minorem esse dimidio Cubi ab AD, et per consequens Cubum ab VS esse eodem multo adhuc minorem. Quod falso infertur nam 58 dempta radice 1682 major est quam 58 dempta r 1681, quia r 1681 minor est quam r 1682, nam quo minus est ablatam eo majus est residuum.³ Qui est error primus idemque Criticus.

Aduerte nunc in quo calculum hunc peccare dico. Multiplicat ille 46 lineolas per numerum 46, itaque productus ex ea multiplicatione nempe 2116 sunt 2116 lineolae quas ille computat pro totidem quadratis ab eadem lineola, qui est error secundus.

Deinde numerum illum 2116 lineolas multiplicat iterum per numerum 46 quare productus ab ea multiplicatione qui est 97336 computat pro totidem Cubis ab eadem lineola, cum sint tantae lineolae; qui est error tertius.

Itaque mirum non est si numerus ille minor sit dimidio Cubi ab AD, cum sit minor quantulocunque Cubi dicibili. Nihil ergo egit calculo hoc Arithmetico.

Credo illum reuerentia nimia Geometrarum hujus seculi Geometriam meam vt ab illis rejectam legere non existimasse operae suae

.....
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pretium esse. Alioqui enim scire inde potuisset, quod in applicatione Arithmeticae ad Geometriam necesse habeat, praesertim in computandis superficiebus et solidis, mutare vnitatem, et perinde habere VNVM, siue solidum siue superficies siue linea sit, id quod calculum Arithmeticum necessariò reddit vitiosum. Sed ne forte dicat, per multiplicationem illam numeri 46 in 46, non intelligere se multiplicationem numerum simpliciter, sed adjunctis numeratis, nimirum 46 lineolas in 46 lineolas, ostendam etiam sic falsum esse calculum. Tunc enim productos ille a multiplicatione prima, nempe 2116 erit totidem quadrata ab vna dictarum lineolarum; et proinde etsi latus ejus sit 46 lineolae, tamen radix ejus erit 46 quadrata a dicta lineola. Nam in omni extractione radice numericae res numerata eadem est, quae in numero vnde radix est extracta. Exempli causa, inter duo quadrata et octo quadrata media proportionalis (quae est radix) est 4 quadrata, non 4 lineae. Similiter numerus productos a multiplicatione secundo nempe 97336, est totidem Cubi ab eadem lineola, et proinde quanquam latus ejus Cubicum sit 46 lineae, Cubica tamen ejus radix erit 46 Cubi ab eadem lineola, id est vt supra ostendi minus quam VS non (vt ille vult) 46 lineae. Neutro ergo calculo duplicationem meam Cubi labefactauit. Neque (etsi falsa esset) per numeros potest, cum radix numeri latus quadrati esse non potest, nisi latera secentur

in partes numero infinitas, ita vt pars infinité parua (si ita loqui liceat) dicatur aequalis tum quadrato tum Cubo suo.

Atque haec quidem de ineptitudine numerorum, siue ad confirmandam siue ad confutandam demonstrationem Geometricam. Itaque [miror]⁴ cum hoc jampridem demonstratum edidissem, inuentum esse qui non agnosceret. Nihil enim examinatu facilius est, modo absit praeiudicium Magistrorum celebrium, & errores proprios defendendi studium.

Defensâ conclusionem, sequitur vt defendant etiam demonstrationem meam, quam peccati accusat duplicis. Alteram est, Quod non probauerim puncta t et h , vt et n et z coincidere. Quod quidem peccatum an in mea scriptione, an in illius attentione [inueniendum]⁵ sit, hinc intellige. Ostenderam, si [$>$ R]S producta incidat in Z; parallelogrammum VX, YZ, esse rectangulum et DY esse maiorem duarum mediarum inter AD et AV. Sed quoniam dici poterat, non posse affirmatiuè demonstrari quod recta RS producta incidit in Z nisi ex eo quod AS est media proportionalis inter AD et DV, supposui RS secare arcum YZ in alio puncto n , ita vt linea RSn supponeretur vna recta, et a puncto Z ductam esse Zt ipsi RS parallelam secantem CH in t . Ex quo

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apparet triangulum ZtV esse triangulum aequilaterum et trianguula Zet, Vet, esse trianguula rectangula, et latus et parallelum lateri vg , et latos ve aequale gh , eidemque parallelum. Vnde sequitur si a puncto t duceretur ad Vg parallela ipsi Ve, essent Ve et illa parallela inter se aequales. Quod est impossibile nisi h et t sint idem punctum; nam gh est aequalis Ve. Qua demonstratione nihil potest esse clarius. sed oblitus erat D.^{nus} Slusius quod supposueram rectam [Rn]⁶ transire per S; putauitque me duxisse rectam Rn, sed non per S. Vitium alteram quod objicit est, Quod recta AS quam mediam esse sumpsit inter AD et DV ad constructionem, vsus non fuerim in demonstrationem. Ad quod respondeo, In demonstratione ducente ad impossibile, non necesse fuisse ea aliter vti quam in mea demonstratione vsus sum. Consulat Logicos. Quare demonstratio mea et Cubi Duplicatio manent inconcussae, et tamen non eo minoris facio doctrinam Slusij. Nemo enim est omnium Geometrarum qui hanc meam Duplicationem Cubi impugnarunt qui meliore vsus est quam ille argumento; nec credo meliore vti potuisse ipsum Archimedes, nam et ille ad Geometriam numeros perperam applicauit. Vale.

Translation of Letter 161

To the most distinguished and most learned Samuel Sorbière, greetings from his friend Thomas Hobbes.

Sorbière, most distinguished man, and best of friends, here at last is a reply (a fairly brief one) to your letter to me of 9 November, and also to the letter which the most learned M. René-François de Sluse wrote to you.¹ So that you may understand it more easily, I am returning to you the letter which de Sluse wrote to you, and which you sent to me.

He correctly says that, in my opinion, the greater of the means between two extremes in the ratio of 2 to 1 will be equal to the sum of those extremes minus the mean itself. But I deny what he adds, namely that it follows from that that the cube of $3 - \sqrt{2}$ will

equal 4. For I would be blind not to see the absurdity of the consequence. For it is impossible for the cube of $3 - \sqrt{2}$ to be equal to 45 cubes of the smallest extreme minus $\sqrt{1,682}$, that is, 45 cubes of the said smallest extreme minus the square root of the number 1,682—that is, minus a certain line. For taking away a line or lines does not in any way diminish the quantity of a cube; so by calculating in this way he makes 45 cubes equal to 4 cubes, as I have shown in the reply I made to the same objection when it was previously made, and published, by the

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Geometry Professor of Gresham College² (which M. de Sluse perhaps has not seen). Therefore M. de Sluse makes AD equal 58, dividing, that is, the greater extreme AD into 58 equal parts; and consequently the lesser extreme DV will contain 29 of those parts, that is, 29 lines (one-half of those same 58 lines). But since AS is the mean proportional between DV and DA, it will be $\sqrt{1,682}$. Therefore AS will be greater than 41, the number 41 being the square root of the number 1,681 of those same lines.

Thus far he has indeed reasoned correctly, but arithmetically. Hereafter he takes the line AI to equal the square root of 1,681, which root is equal to 41 lines of the same magnitude as those lines of which AB contains 58; and since AD is 58 and DV is 29, the whole of AV is 87, from which when we have subtracted AI, 41, we are left with VI, 46 of those same lines. He thinks he can demonstrate by doubling the multiplication that the cube of that is 97,336; and the cube of the number 58 is 19,512, which is more than double the previous number. From which, he says, it is evident that the cube of VI (which is greater than VS) is less than half the cube of AD, and that consequently the cube of VS much smaller still. But that conclusion is falsely drawn, because 58 minus $\sqrt{1,682}$ is greater than 58 minus $\sqrt{1,681}$, since $\sqrt{1,681}$ is less than $\sqrt{1,682}$, and the smaller the quantity subtracted, the greater the quantity that remains.³ This is the first error, and a critical one.

Now observe where I say the fault lies in this calculation. He multiplies 46 lines by the number 46; therefore the product of that multiplication, namely 2,116, consists of 2,116 lines. But he counts them as so many squares on that same line: that is his second error.

Next he takes that number, the 2,116 lines, and multiplies it again by the number 46, and counts the product of that multiplication, which is 97,336, as so many cubes on the same line; whereas in fact they are so many lines. That is his third error.

So it is not surprising if that number is less than half the cube on AD, since it is less than any describable cube whatsoever. He has accomplished nothing, therefore, with this arithmetical calculation.

I think that because he pays too much reverence to the geometers of our age, he did not think it worth studying my geometry, seeing that it has been spurned by them. For otherwise he could have learned from it that when one is applying arithmetic to geometry, it is necessary to refer to different units, especially when making calculations about surfaces and solids; so that using the same 'ONE' to refer to a solid or a surface or a line necessarily makes an arithmetical calculation faulty. But in case

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he says that when he refers to multiplying the number 46 by 46 he does not mean simply multiplying the number, but rather applying the numbered things, namely 46 lines to 46 lines, I shall show that the calculation is false even on that basis. For in that case, the product of the first multiplication, namely 2,116, will be so many squares of one of the said lines; and therefore even if its side is 46 lines, its square root will still be 46 squares on the said lines. For in every extraction of a numerical square root the numbered thing is the same as in the number from which the root is extracted. For example, the mean proportional (which is the root) between 2 squares and 8 squares is 4 squares, not 4 lines. Similarly, the number produced by the second multiplication, namely 97,336, will be so many cubes on the same line, and therefore although the side of the cube may be 46 lines, its cube root will be 46 cubes on the same line, that is (as I demonstrated above), less than VS and not (as he would have it) 46 lines. By neither of his calculations, therefore, has he undermined my duplication of the cube. Nor could it be undermined by the use of numbers even if it were false, since the square root of a number cannot be the side of a square—unless the sides are divided into an infinite number of parts, so that an infinitely small part (if one may use such a phrase) can be said to be equal both to its square and to its cube.

This just goes to show how inadequate numbers are for confirming or refuting a geometrical demonstration. So I am surprised⁽⁴⁾ that anyone should fail to recognize my discovery, given that I published this proof a long time ago. For nothing can be tested more easily, so long as one dispenses with the prejudgement of famous 'masters' of geometry, and with their eagerness to defend their own errors.

Having defended my conclusion, it follows that I should also defend my demonstration, which he accuses of a double fault. His first accusation is that I have not proved that the points t and h coincide—nor n and z . Whether the fault is to be found⁽⁵⁾ in my writing or his attention, you can judge by the following. I had shown that if RS, when produced, falls on Z, the parallelogram VXYZ is a rectangle and DY is the greater of two means between AD and AV, But since it could be said that one cannot definitely demonstrate that the straight line RS, when produced, falls on Z, except from the fact that AS is the mean proportional between AD and DV, I supposed that RS cuts the arc YZ at another point, n , so that the line RSn can be taken as one straight line, and the line Zt (which is parallel to RS) can be drawn from Z, cutting the secant CH at t . From which it appears that the triangle ZtV is an equilateral

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triangle, and that the triangles Zet and Vet are right-angled triangles, and that the side et is parallel to the side Vg , and that the side Ve is equal to gh and parallel to it. From which it follows that if the parallel line to Ve is drawn from the point t to Vg , Ve and that parallel line will be equal to each other. Which is impossible, unless h and t are the same point; for gh is equal to Ve . Nothing could

be clearer than this demonstration. But M. de Sluse had forgotten that I had supposed that the straight line $Rn^{(6)}$ passed through S; he thought I had drawn the straight line Rn , but not through S.

The other fault he accused me of was that having taken the straight line AS as the mean between AD and DV for the purposes of my construction, I had not used it in my demonstration. To which I reply that it was not necessary, in a demonstration leading to an impossible conclusion, to use it in any way other than the way in which I did use it in my demonstration. He should consult the logicians. But although my demonstration and my duplication of the cube remain unshaken, I do not therefore value M. de Sluse's teaching any the less. For among all those geometers who have attacked this duplication of the cube of mine, no one has used a better argument than he did; nor do I think that Archimedes himself could have used a better one, since he too was mistaken in his application of numbers to geometry. Farewell.

NOTES

¹ See Letter 156 (from Sorbière) and its enclosure (from de Sluse).

² See Letter 160 n. 4.

³ Hobbes fails to apply to rule which he correctly enunciates here.

⁴ minor *MS*.

⁵ inuenienda *MS*.

⁶ *Bn MS*.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 162 [22-4 December 1663/] 1-3 January 1664 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes [from Paris] (22 December 1663 - 03 January 1664)

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LETTER 162 [22-4 DECEMBER 1663/] 1-3 JANUARY 1664 SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS [FROM PARIS]

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 80 (original; fragment).

Monsieur,

J'ay receu toutes uos lettres jusques à la derniere du 19. Decemb. uieux stile.¹ Et par consequent Vous ne deuès point estre en peine de uostre responce à M: Sluys, ny de vostre lettre à M. Hugens. La premiere partira uendredy prochain pour Liege,² & l'autre pour Amsterdam.³ Vous y pouuès enuoyer directement au plustot la planche de vostre portrait,⁴ Car M. Blaeu⁵ m'escrit qui commencera ce mois de Januier à imprimer vos ouurages. Il aura soin de faire grauer les deux dernieres figures,⁶ & Vous n'auès rien à luy offrir pour cela. Il ne sert à rien que Vous le sollicitiès dauantage, car je le presse assés. Donnès moy, s'il vous plaist, la solution du probleme de M. Carcaui⁷ cy joint, & eris illi magnus Apollo.⁸ Ne vous mettès pas en peine des ports de lettres. J'en suis bien recompencè par la plaisir que j'ay d'apprendre de uos nouuelles. Vous deuriès songer à traduire, ou à faire traduire vostre Leuiathan en Latin, Auès vous receu une Relation de la Cour de Rome de Corrado en Italien⁹ que je Vous enuoyay d'Amsterdam pour Monsieur le Comte de Deuonshire. J'en fais une de mon uoyage, ou je n'oublieray pas de dire ce que je dois de ce Seigneur.¹⁰ Si nos crequis¹¹ & nos Roquelaures¹² estoient faits comme luy: nous n'aurions pas tant de demeslés avec Rome, & nos Ambassadeurs ne nous feroient pas tant d'affaires dans [les page torn] pays estrangers. Je Vous enuie un tel patron, & souhaite quelque part en ses bonnes graces, puis que je ne puis pas avoir d'autres pretentions.

Translation of Letter 162

Sir,

I have received all your letters up to the last one, of 19 December (Old Style).¹ So you need not worry at all about your reply to M. de Sluse, nor about your letter to M. Huygens. The former will go off to Liège this coming Friday,² and the latter to Amsterdam.³ You can send the engraving of your portrait⁴ there, as soon as possible; M. Blaeu⁵ tells me in a letter that he will start printing your works this month (January). He will look after having the two final diagrams engraved,⁶ and you need not pay him anything for that. There is no point in your urging him on any more, as I am putting him under enough pressure myself.

Please give me the solution to the enclosed problem by M. de Carcavi;⁷ if you do, 'you will become his great hero'.⁸ Do not worry about the postal charges: I am well compensated by the pleasure which it gives me to hear your news. You should think about translating your *Leviathan* into Latin, or about having it translated. Have you received an *Account of the Roman Curia*, by Correr, in Italian?⁹ I sent it to you from Amsterdam, for the Earl of Devonshire. I am writing an account of my journey, in which I shall not forget to express my indebtedness to that Lord.¹⁰ If our Crequis¹¹ or Roquelaures¹² were like him, we should have less unpleasant business with Rome, and our ambassadors would not make such trouble for us in foreign countries. I envy your fortune in having such a good patron, and I hope to have some portion of his favours, since I can make no other claims.

NOTES

¹ Letter 161.

² See the general note, above.

³ Since Huygens was at The Hague, not Amsterdam, this probably refers to a revised version of Hobbes's 'Epistola anonymi' (see Letter 156 n. 3), now forwarded by Sorbière to Blaeu in Amsterdam.

⁴ The engraving by William Faithorne (see Letter 154 n. 3).

⁵ Probably Johan Blaeu.

⁶ Probably the two plates of geometrical diagrams for the section 'Propositiones XVI de magnitudine circuli', added at the end of *Problemata physica* in the *Opera philosophica*.

⁷ See Letter 67 n. 7; the 'problem' mentioned here has not apparently survived.

⁸ Source unidentified,

⁹ See Letter 154 n. 4.

¹⁰ See Letter 159 n. 4.

¹¹ François de Créqui, duc de Lesdiguières (c.1624–87), a famous general, was created marshal of France in 1668. He was exiled in 1672 for refusing to serve under Turenne, but later returned to the service of the King.

¹² Gaston-Jean-Baptiste, duc de Roqueiaure (1617–83), lieutenant-general of the French army; he took part in the siege of Bordeaux during the Fronde, was a commander in the Dutch campaign of 1671–3, and was made governor of Guyenne in 1676.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 163 [28 December 1663/] 7 January 1664 François du Verdus to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (28 December 1663 - 07 January 1664)

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LETTER 163 [28 DECEMBER 1663/] 7 JANUARY 1664 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS, FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 57 (original).

Monsieur

Je vous désire la bonne année comme je fais pour moy mesme franchement et de tout mon coeur. Ce n'est pas compliment que ceçy: Ce n'est pas comme le font la plu-part des gens, par forme, par coutume, et par manière d'acquit: vous sçavés que je vous estime le premier homme du monde; et s'il faut le dire, que je vous ayme comme le premier et le meilleur de mes amis: Encore une fois c'est donc franchement et de tout mon coeur que je vous désire la bonne année, et toute bonne joye. Après m'estre ainsi acquité voulés vous bien que je vous demande d'où vient que je ne reçois plus de vos lettres? Est ce que vous m'écrivies et qu'on me les intercepte? ou si vous ne m'écrivés pas, est ce faute de santé ou pour affaires survenües? Car je ne puis m'imaginer que ce soit oubly; et pour moy je vous ay écrit souvant sans en avoyr reçu [de *deleted*] reponse. Qui faut-il que j'accuse de cela? J'ay écrit par M^r Capel:¹ mats j'ay peine a soupçonner un tel homme, [et *deleted*] que d'ailleurs j'ay trouvé homme d'honneur et mon amy. Je ne l'en accuse donc pas, et mesme je ne l'en soupçonne pas: et toute fois j'ay bien a me plaindre de luy. Voylà deus fois en deus ans de suite qu'il est party d'icy pour Londres après m'avoyr promis de m'écouter sur force choses que je désirois qu'il vous dit; et ne m'avoyr point tenu; et le voicy de retour pour la seconde fois sans m'avoyr aussi tenu ce que je luy avois fait promette Qu'il vous verroit particulierement si par hazard vous vouliés aussi m'avertir de quelque chose par luy. Il aléque sur cela Que mal-

aysément vous trouve t-on ou vous logés; Qu'il vous rancontra dans la Maison du Parlement, et vous y rendit une de mes

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lettres, aus enseignes que vous aviés avec vous [un *deleted*] certain françois (Vn grand homme rousseau)² lequel à voyr seulement la suscription de ma lettre me noma, et dit que c'etoit de moy. Quoy qu'il en soit Premierement Monsieur je vous ay écrit, et vous ay randu ce respect En second lieu c'étoit entre autres choses pour m'informer de ce que vous faites; si vous nous donés quelque chose de nouveau; si vous faites encore imprimer en un seul in folio vos trois sections de Philosophie³ Je m'informois mesme de quelque chose du passé: Je m'informois si c'est le Xenophon, le Thucydide ou tous les deus que vous traduisites autre fois⁴ et je vous priois de le dire à M^r Capel, que je priois (luy) de recouvrer ces Livres àquelque prix que ce fût et me les faire tenir, vous vous conoissés Monsieur, vous scavés si persone au monde écrit comme vous si nettement si fortement: Ayant donc de vous le Leviathan, le Traité of Liberty and Necessity (et celuy-cy de vos grâces tant en grand qu'en petit)⁵ vos trois sections de Philosophie, l'Examinatio et Emendatio Mathematicae hodiernae (que vous me fites l'honneur de me doner en toutes façons⁶ de si bone grâce et si genereusement) vos Problemes de Physique dediés àvotre Roy, et le M^r Hobbes Considered (Livres que je lis, que j'étudie, que j'ayme) je desire toujours de scavoyr ce que vous ferés et ce que vous aurés fait que je l'aye aussi pour l'étudier de mesme et pour ainsi dire pour m'en repaitre et m'en nourrir l'esprit. C'etoit là la seconde chose. En voicy une troisième. Vous scavés bien queles Gens j'ay sur les bras? les Jésuites. Ils m'usurperent un beau fief estimé dix mil écus presque'aussi tot que je fus né⁷ Et il leur fut bien aisé je n'avois rien que deus mois lors que mon Père mourut. Ce fut donc là leur premier grand interet contre moy que celuy-là de m'oter hors de pouvoir de leur faire lascher prise: Le second a esté de faire que tot ou tard j'achevasse d'estre leur proye par traités sous pension: C'est sur ces deus grands interets qu'a roulé quarante ans durant toute leur conduite sur moy. De là vint le Testament de feu ma soeur de ferron,⁸ qui m'eut fait heritier sans eus, et que par leur Père Seurin⁹ ils firent disposer en faveur de son Mary; de là le Testament de ma Tutrice par leur Père Gaufreteau;¹⁰ de là mes desseins traversés, mes biens ruinés, ma conduite décriée, moy mesme empoisoné deus fois. Vous avés veu mon factum;¹¹ Vous sçavés le Tuteur, les Parans, la Soeur, l'Archeveque &c Il y a là du *θειόντι* et le Thejonti fait voyr cela, Que j'ay affaire a de telles gens a vne telle Ligue de tels joueÿrs de Marionete qui metent Dieu de la partie par Exorcices Spirituëls c'est a dire par tels tours d'esprit a quoy ils s'exerçent. Leurs dernières hostilités furent de

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m'oter l'amitié d'une Personne qui par une rancontre Merveilleuse de motifs tous surprenans me révéla d'eus certains Mystères inéfables de Direction de Conscience Arcana Imperij des Coeurs apandus a leurs Tabernacles On n'imagineroit jamais quels Engagemens ce sont voyés ce que vous dites d'eus dans le Kingdome of Darknesse vous en dites plus que tout autre Mais tout cela n'est rien au prix. On ne sçait point impunement le secret des Roys ni de qui vient les destroner et nous avons sur cela l'Acteon et le Pentée des Anciens:¹² Me voyant donc Maistre du Secret Mais aussi sachant qu'ils sçavoient que je le sçavois je vis d'abord qu'il falloir aussi de trois choses l'une Que par là je les perdisse; qu'ils me perdissent, ou que nous fissions la Paix. Les perdre sembloit Grand et beau et peut estre pas impossible: Avec un seul homme a moy j'eusse cru en venir à bout [>et leur tourner les Roys contre]: Mais où trouver cet homme a moy? Cela donc étoit difficile. Aussi consantir a ma perte? On ne consent point a cela. Je recherchay donc ces Messieurs et comme ils en vindrent¹³ là de m'envoyer menager qu'on m'enleveroit; qu'on m'ameneroit à Rome et que là sur mon Epitre dédicatoyre au Roy de la Traduction de votre Politique¹⁴ postée a l'Inquisition et sur Accusations qui se trouveroient on me feroit bruler vif, je cherchay de faire la Paix. Mais en vain Ce fut tems perdu. Il est vray qu'ils écoutèrent: mais ils voulurent de moy que je me randisse a discrétion, que je me donasse a eus Corps et biens. L'affaire en ces termes je vous envoyay certain Écrit cacheté¹⁵ Et vous écrivis mais en termes généraus sans expliquer que ce fût cela Et vous me fites reponse Que le dépôt est une chose sacrée et que vous tiendriés le mien inviolable pour ne le remettre qu'a moy en persone. Maintenant voicy l'affaire. Ces Messieurs se font fort de vous gagner: ou s'ils vous ne gagnent pas Comme de vray pour cela je les en défie, ils croyent gagner les gens a vous mesme M L C d D. Je vous prie donc derechef Non pas pour m'asseurer de vous, de qui je suis tout assuré Mais affin que vous Monsieur vous vous asseuriés des autres, je vous prie au nom de Dieu que jamais autre persone ne pénétre dans ce secret Et pour ma satisfaction (parce qu'il y a grand plaisir a voyr les Promesses d'un Amy) écrivés moy s'il vous plait derechef entre autres choses Que je sois en repos de ce coté là. Que jamais vous ne remetés mon dépôt qu'a moy en persone. Enfin pour vous dire autre chose: Certain Abé de Cour nommé M^r l'abé Picard¹⁶ (le Grand Confident de l'abé de Richelieu) à logé ces jours passés deus mois de suite dans la chambre sous la miene. Il renie les Jésuites et s'en plaint come envoyé promener sur une letre de cachet Mais à d'autres: je suis aguerry. Depuis trois ans j'ay veu

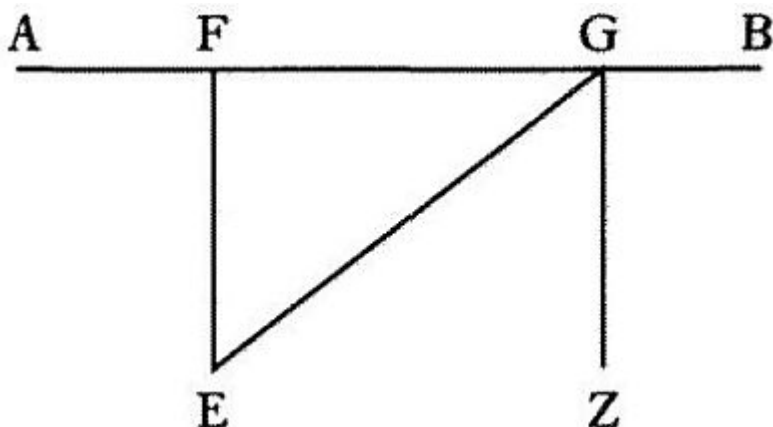
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dans ma Chambre des femmes de qualité ayant leurs Maris, mais ayant aussi la vérole; de belles filles et de jeunes veuves qui toutes me faisoient beau jeu mais qui étoient grosses d'ailleurs; force autres honestes personnes mais que je jugeois Emissaires, laissant donc là le démêlé de ce M^r l'abé Picard et ses Mecontantemans C'est d'ailleurs un bel Esprit Esprit libre et des-abusé et profond dans les sçiences. Nous avons leu ensemble et releu et toujours admiré votre Philosophie première¹⁷ et l'Examinatio: Tout de bon il en fut ravy. Nous

leumes aussi ensemble vos Problèmes de Physique et voicy ses difficultés qu'il me pria de vous écrire que nous en parlions derechef dans deus ou trois moys d'icy qu'il repassera par Bourdeaus.

Page 8^{eme} ligne j^{ere} et 2^{de} Progressuram Navem pro ratione CA ad DF:¹⁸ Mais CA est infinie: Coment donc changer cela.

Page 99^{eme} vis ictus perpendicularis erit ad vim obliquam in ratione rectae ag ad rectam ef:¹⁹ Mais il ne trouve point cela prouvé et



plutot dit-il
semble-t-il que ce soit en raison des angles in ratione anguli recti afe, ad acutum egf; et qu'ainsi soit Tirons dit-il la perpendiculaire gz Et suposé les deus angles egf, egz chacun de 45 degrés Cette autre paroy gz reçoit la moitié du coup. Et quel autre raison de cela que son angle ainsi partagé? Enfin page 67^e et 68^e Virgam ferream vitro liquefacto argento vivo quod intra fornacem in vase continetur intingunt.²⁰ Cela luy paroît obscur. Je soutins que vitro liquefacto fut ablatif absolu Mais pour expliquer cela Auriés vous bien la bonté de nous décrire en peu en françois en latin ou en Anglois coment c'est que se font ces gouttes? Voylà nos demandes en peu. Mais la demande en peu aussi que je vous fais de mon chef C'est Monsieur que vous m'aymiés s'il se peut come je vous ayme et comptiés toujours que je suis de tout mon coeur

Monsieur
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus

A Bourdeaus le 7^e Janvier 1664.

[addressed:] For M^r Hobbes London.

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Translation of Letter 163

Sir,

I hope you have a happy new year, just as I hope I have one myself- frankly, and with all my heart. That is no formal compliment: I do not say it in the way that most people say such things, out of formality, custom, or mannerism. For you know that I think of you as the most important man in the world, and, it must be said, that I love you as the most important and best of my friends. So once again I wish you frankly, and with all my heart, a happy new year, and every happiness.

Having thus acquitted myself, may I ask why it is that I no longer receive your letters? Is it because you have sent me letters which have been intercepted? Or, if you have not been writing to me, is that because of ill health, or because you have been unexpectedly busy? For I cannot imagine that it was just through forgetfulness. As for myself, I have often written to you, without receiving any reply. Whom should I blame for that? I have sent my letters via Mr Capell;¹ but I find it hard to suspect such a man, someone that, besides, I have found to be a man of honour and a friend to me. So I do not accuse him in the matter, nor do I even suspect him. But all the same I have much to complain of against him. Twice in two successive years he has left here for London, having promised to listen to me on a great many things which I wanted him to tell you, and having failed of his promise; and now here he is, back again for the second time, also having failed to keep the promise which he made at my request, that he would make a point of seeing you in case by any chance you also wanted to communicate anything to me through him. The excuse he gives is that the place where you are staying is hard to find. He says that he met you in the House of Parliament, and gave you one of my letters, alleging as proof of this the fact that you had a Frenchman with you (a big man, with red hair),² who, merely on seeing the writing of the address on my letter, named me, and said it was from me. Whatever the truth of the matter, let me say first, Sir, that I have written to you and paid you that respect. Secondly, I did so in order (among other things) to find out what you are doing, whether you are giving us some new work, and whether you have yet arranged to have the three Sections of your Philosophy printed in a single folio.³ I also wanted to find out something about the past: whether it was Xenophon, or Thucydides, or both, that you once translated.⁴ And I asked you to tell Mr Capell, whom I begged to get hold of those books, however much they cost, and send them to me.

You know yourself, Sir; you know whether anyone in the world writes as you do—with such strength and clarity. Since I have your *Leviathan, Of Libertie and Necessitie* (which, thanks to you, I have in both the large and the small editions),⁵ the three Sections of your Philosophy, *Examinatio et emendatio* (which you so kindly and generously did me the honour of giving to me, in both senses),⁶ your *Problemata physica*, dedicated to your King, and *Mr Hobbes Considered* (all books which I read, study, and love), I always want to know what else you are planning to do or have already done, so that I may have a copy of that too and study it as well. That was the second thing I wanted to find out.

Here is a third. Do you know what sort of people I am fighting against? The Jesuits. They usurped a fine property of mine, valued at 10,000 écus, almost as soon as I was born.⁷ And it was very easy for them: I was only 2 months old when my father died. So their first great plot against me was to prevent me from making them let go of it; and the second was to ensure that sooner or later I would end up as their prey, by entering into agreements for an annuity. Their behaviour towards me has been governed by those two concerns for forty years. Hence the will of my late sister, Mme de Ferron,⁸ who, but for them, would have made me her heir, but who was persuaded by their Father Seurin⁹ to make her bequest in favour of her husband. Hence too the will of my lady guardian, at the instigation of their Father Gaufreteau;¹⁰ hence the thwarting of my plans, the ruining of my property, the slandering of my behaviour, and even the two poisonings I received. You have seen my Statement;¹¹ you know about my male guardian, my relations, my sister, the Archbishop, etc. There is something supernatural there, demonstrated by the fact that I am involved with such people, such a conspiracy of string-pullers, people who enrol God for their purposes in their spiritual exorcisms—I mean, in those tricks of the spirit which they perform. Their most recent hostile act against me was to take away the friendship of a person who, for a wonderful conjuncture of altogether surprising reasons, revealed to me some of their ineffable mysteries, on the subject of how to direct people's consciences—the secret rules of government over those hearts which are opened to them in their tabernacles. One would never imagine what undertakings those are. Look at what you say about them in 'Of the Kingdome of Darknesse': you say more about them than anyone else. But all that is nothing compared with the reality.

No one can learn with complete impunity about the secrets of

kings—nor of those who come to dethrone them. On that topic, we have the ancient myths of Actaeon and Pentheus.¹² So, seeing that I was in possession of their secret, but knowing too that they knew that I knew it, I realized immediately that one of three things would have

to happen. Either I would use that knowledge to destroy them; or they would destroy me; or we would make peace with each other. Destroying them seemed a great and fine thing, and perhaps not impossible: if I had had one faithful ally I would have thought I could have achieved it, and turned the kings against them. But where could I find that faithful ally? That option, therefore, was difficult. Then again, should I agree to my destruction? One never agrees to that. So I sought out those gentlemen again. And since they went⁽¹³⁾ so far as to send me threats that they would have me seized, taken to Rome, and burnt alive there because of the dedicatory epistle (the one addressed to the King, which I wrote for my translation of your Politics),¹⁴ which they would send to the Inquisition, and because of other accusations which would be made against me, I tried to make peace with them. But to no avail. It was a waste of time. It is true that they listened; but they wanted me to yield unconditionally to them, and give them my body and my property.

I sent you a certain sealed document,¹⁵ in which I described the business in those terms. I also wrote to you, but in general terms, without explaining its real nature. You replied that being entrusted with something for safe-keeping is a sacred thing, and that you would keep what I had sent you inviolably safe, and would return it only to me in person. And now here is what is going on: these gentlemen are making great efforts to win you over. Or at least, if they do not win you over (and in fact I defy them to do so), they think they can win over people close to you—even my Lord the Earl of Devonshire. So I beg you once again—not in order to make sure of you, since I am completely sure of you, but so that you, Sir, may make yourself sure of other people—I beg you in the name of God never to let anyone else penetrate this secret. And, for my peace of mind (since one gets great pleasure from seeing a friend's promises), write to me again, please, telling me that I can rest assured on this point: that you will never hand over the thing I entrusted to you to anyone except me in person.

Now I turn at last to other matters. A certain priest from Court, called the abbé Picard¹⁶ (the great confidant of the abbé Richelieu), has just been staying for two successive months in the room below mine.

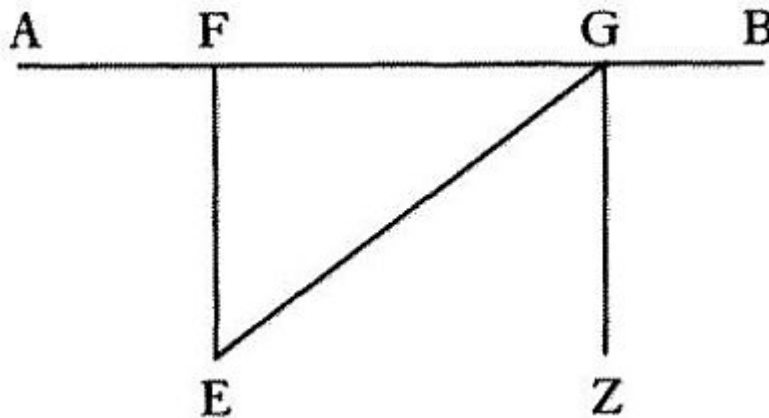
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He repudiates the Jesuits, and complains against them, having been sent away to cool his heels by a royal command. But where others are concerned, I have become battle-hardened. For three years I have seen, in my room, noble ladies who have husbands but who also have the pox; pretty girls and young widows, who played fair with me, but who were in any case pregnant; and many other worthy people, who, however, I decided were spies. But I shall leave aside the sorry business of the abbé Picard's misfortunes. He is, anyway, a man of fine intellect, a free-thinker, free of prejudices, and a man of deep learning. Together, filled with admiration, we have read and reread your 'Philosophia prima'¹⁷ and *Examinatio et*

emendatio: he was completely delighted with them. We also read your *Problemata physica* together; here are his objections, which he asked me to send you so that we might discuss them again when he next comes to Bordeaux in two or three months' time.

Page 86, lines 1 and 2: 'the forwards motion of the ship will be in the ratio of CA to DF'.¹⁸ But CA is infinite; so how should that be put differently?

Page 99: 'the force of the perpendicular blow will have the same ratio to the oblique force as the ratio of the straight line EG to the straight line EF'.¹⁹ But he does not find that that has been proved



at all. Rather, he says, it seems to have the ratio of the angles-the ratio of the right-angle AFE to the acute angle EGF. Let there be a perpendicular GZ, he says; and suppose that the two angles EGF and EGZ are each of 45 degrees; that other wall, GZ, will receive half the blow. And what other reason can be given for that, except for the angle which they both share?

Finally, pages 67-8: 'They dip an iron bar "*vitro liquefacto argento vivo*", which is contained in a vessel in the furnace.'²⁰ That strikes him as obscure, I argued that '*vitro liquefacto*' was an ablative absolute. Would you have the kindness to give us a short description, in French, Latin, or English, of how these drops are made? There, in brief, are our requests. But the request which I, for myself, also make briefly, is that

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you may love me, Sir, if possible as much as I love you, and that you may always reckon that I am, Sir, with all my heart,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

du Verdus

Bordeaux, 7 January 1664.

[*addressed: see text*]

NOTES

¹ John Capell was an Italian-born merchant, based in London. In the Act of Naturalization by which he was given the rights of a British subject on 24 July [/3 Aug.] 1663 (superseding a previous Act, in which he was also named, of 26 June [/6 July] 1657), he was listed as 'John Baptist Capell, born at Valtelline in the Grisons Country, son of Albert Capell' (Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization*, pp. 71, 91). His original name would therefore have been Giovanni-Battista Cappello. An entry for 27 July [/6 Aug.] 1657 in a register of foreigners in London records: 'John Capell of London Italian Merchant, landed at Dover y^e 24th present out of an English vessel from Challice [sc. Calais] and came to London the 25th and lodgeth in his house in S^t Nicholas lane in London, and saith that in March last he went to Bordeaux vpon his affaires of Merchandize, and that being naturalized by the last Parliam^t he is not bound to give an Acc^t of his Correspond^{ce} ' (BL MS Add. 34015, fo. 77^v; I am very grateful to Prof. Henry Roseveare for drawing this source to my attention). He was the brother-in-law of the more prominent Anglo-Italian merchant George Torriano (see Letter 170 n.7), who also resided in St Nicholas Lane (perhaps at the same house) in 1656 (BL MS Add. 34015, fo. 7^r). In May 1673 Torriano and Capell were named together in a Customs Money Book list of British merchants trading in Spanish and sweet wines (Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, iv, p. 133). In 1685 an Italian translation of the Book of Common Prayer was published in London; in a preface, one of the translators, Edward Brown, explained that he had begun work on this project while he was chaplain to Sir John Finch in Constantinople, and that after returning to London in 1680 he had entrusted the rest of the translation to 'Signor Giovan-Battista Cappello', whom he described as 'a skilled and experienced master of the language' ('perito ed esperto Maestro delta lingua' (*Il libro delle preghiere publiche*, 'Avvertimento al Lettore')).

² Samuel Sorbière.

³ *De corpore*, *De homine*, and *De cive*, printed together in the (quarto) *Opera philosophica* of 1668.

⁴ See Letter 2 n. 1.

⁵ There were two editions of *Of Libertie and Necessitie* in 1654, in duodecimo (the 'small edition'), and a further edition in quarto (the 'large edition') in 1656 under the title *The Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance*.

⁶ Meaning that Hobbes had both dedicated the work to du Verdus and given him a copy.

⁷ For a fuller history of du Verdus's troubles, see Letter 78.

⁸ See *ibid.*, n. 5.

⁹ Probably Pierre Seurin, Prior of Saint Seurin in 1639 (ADG MS G 1733, fo. 315).

¹⁰ Probably Pierre de Gaufreteau, who was Prior of La Sauve and Visitor-General of the Exempt Benedictines in 1628 (ADG MS H 793); he remained Prior of La Sauve in the late 1640s (ADG MSS G 572, fo. 200; H 314, liasse), and was still *curé* of La Sauve in 1665 (ADG MS H 9). He was possibly the continuator of the *Chronique* by the Bordelais historian Jehan Gaufreteau, who died in 1629.

¹¹ See Letter 89 n. 3.

¹² Actaeon, having seen the goddess Diana naked, was turned into a stag and killed by his own dogs. Pentheus, having spied on the mysteries of the Bacchae, was either driven mad (in some versions of the myth) or killed (in Euripides' version). Bacon discusses Actaeon and Pentheus in *De sapientia veterum*, explaining the former as a fable concerning the effects of imprudent curiosity into the secrets of princes (*Works*, vi, pp. 645–6).

¹³ I take this to mean 'vinrent', though this spelling is erratic even by du Verdus's normal standards.

¹⁴ Du Verdus's translation of *De cive*, *Les Elemens de la politique*.

¹⁵ This document has not apparently survived.

¹⁶ Jean Picard (1620–83), who became a founding member of the Académie royale des sciences (1666). Having assisted Auzout's astronomical researches (c. 1665–6), he soon became the leading French astronomer and geodesist of his generation. Francis Vernon described him in 1670 as 'a travailler & well acquainted wth all France & Italy' (OC vi, p. 433). His *La Mesure de la terre* was published at Paris in 1671.

¹⁷ The first part of *De corpore*.

¹⁸ OL iv, p. 345,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

²⁰ Du Verdus's assumption that 'vitro liquefacto' is an ablative absolute yields the following meaning: 'Once the glass has been melted, they dip an iron bar in the mercury, which is contained in a vessel inside the furnace.' 'Argento vivo' was omitted from the text of the 2nd edn. (*Opera philosophica*, p. 26), the text printed by Molesworth (*OL* iv, p. 337). The meaning of the text thus corrected is; 'They dip an iron bar in the molten glass which is contained in a vessel inside the furnace.'



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Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 164 7 [/17] March 1664 Hobbes to Samuel Sorbière , from London (07 March 1664 - 17 March 1664)

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LETTER 164 7 [/17] MARCH 1664 *HOBBS TO SAMUEL SORBIÈRE , FROM LONDON*

Letter: BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 161^v–162^r (transcript).

Printed in Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', p. 214.

Enclosure: BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 162^v–167 (transcript).

Printed (fragments) in Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', p. 216.

Viro Clarissimo Domino Sorberio Salutem dicit [Seruus]¹ suus Thomas Hobbes.

Resignatis uteris tuis (quas initio Januarij aegrotans a febricula accept) vt chartulam
inclusam vidi, agnoui statim amici veteris et candidi scriptionem,² De controuersijs meis
Geometricis minime

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cogitabam, contentus iudicio posteritatis qualicumque. Neque oppugnatores
demonstrationum mearum quae post tot explicationes, nunc imprimuntur, responsione
dignos iudicabam. Caeterum, quin amico candido et erudito, quanquam Geometrarum
communi errore a veritate abducto satisfacerem quantum possem, abstinere non potui.
Monstrabis ergo illi, si placet, inuolutam his literis, ejusdem problematis (nimirum de
duplicatione Cubi) demonstrationem aliam.³ Poteris etiam (vt tibi videbitur) ostendere illam
Geometris alijs quibuscunque. Demonstrationem quae sub praelo est,⁴ neque mutare neque
confirmare neque de ea disputare amplius volo. Recta est; quod autem homines praeiudicio
impediti non satis illam attente legerint, non mea sed ipsorum culpa est. Sunt enim genus
hominum gloriosum et maledicum, ad quorum animos (postquam alienis Principijs falsis,
vel non bene intellectis falsa superstruxerint) gloria appletos, veritati nouae non est aditus.

Idoneusne Propositionis, quae speculationis paulò profundioris sit, examinatore ille est cui sedent monstra haec? Decies decem lineas esse 100 quadrata. Eandem esse rem latus quadrati, et quadrati numeri Radicem. Rationem esse Quotientem. Idem punctum posse esse in linea, extra lineam, et intra lineam eandem. Mitto tibi praeterea duarum Mediarum inter duas Extremas quascunque inuentionem, satis (vt opinor) demonstratam. Postremo mitto tibi Dubitationem quandam meam de veritate Propositionis 47.^{ae} Lib. 1. Euclidis; quam si mathematici vestri non soluant, actum est de Principijs Geometriae vulgò receptis.

Haec omnia monstrari cupio Domino Carcauo,⁵ ipsi quidem perito [Geometrae]⁶, et (ni fallor) celeberrimis monstraturo. Qui si falsa esse dicant quae ego puto demonstrata, aut manifesta de quibus dubito, rescribe quaeso eorum argumenta, ne temerè parallologismos meos in lucem proferam. Vale.

Tuus
Thomas Hobbes

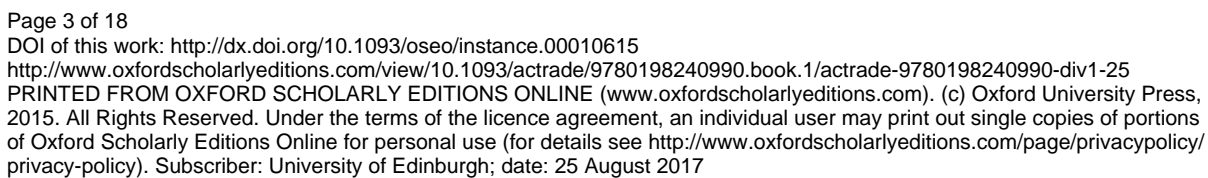
Londini. 7. Martij 1663

[*enclosed:*]

Inter datas extremas quascunque duas inuenire medias proportionales

Fiat quadratum ABCD, cujus latus CD producat ad F, ita vt CD, DF sint aequales.

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In recta AD sumatur vtcunque punctum H, junctâque FH ducatur HG ipsi FH perpendicularis secans BC in G, et rursus ducatur GE perpendicularis ipsi HG, secans AD productam in E. Itaque completum parallelogrammum HGEI erit rectangulum; et rectae FD, DH, DG, DE continuè proportionales; quarum DH est mediarum major, et DG mediarum minor.

In DC sumatur DK aequalis DH, et DL aequalis DE; eruntque DC, DK, DG, DL continuè proportionales.

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Inter AD, et DE sumatur media proportionalis DM, quae erit media etiam inter DK et D[>G].

Sumptâ autem inter DC et DK, mediâ DN, et inter DG et DL, mediâ DO, erunt DC, DN, DK, DM, DG, DO, DL continuè proportionales; et ratio DC ad [CM]⁷ erit duplicata rationis DM ad DL; et ratio CL ad CM duplicata rationis CL ad CG. Ratio enim DC ad CL diuiditur ita in M, vt DC ad CM sit in ratione duplicata DM ad DL; item ML diuiditur in G, vt CL ad CM habeat rationem duplicatam ejus quam habet CL ad CG.

Quare auferendo proportionalibus proportionalia, erit vt CL ad CG ita CG ad CM; est ergo CG media proportionalis inter CL et CM.

Dantur autem rectae CL et CM, Datur ergo punctum G, et proinde etiam recta DG mediarum minor hoc modo.

Ducatur ab M recta MQ indefinita, eademque parallela lateribus oppositis BC, AD.

In recta CL producta sumatur LP aequalis CM; seceturque tota CP bifariam in a; Centro a interuallo aC describatur arcus circuli secans MQ in Q. Itaque erunt MQ, CG aequales. Datur ergo minor mediarum DG. Major autem data minore facile inuenitur, propterea quod vt DG ad DM, ita est DM ad DK, Vel sic, diuisâ FG bifariam in R, centro R interuallo RG, descriptus semicirculus transibit per H.

Major mediarum inter duas extremas, quarum vna alterius est dupla, aequalis est ambabus extremis, minus media inter ipsas.

Eodem modo ostendi potest tum rectas VO, VZ inter se, tum rectas VK, VT inter se esse aequales.

Quoniam ergo RN est quadratum, et MG diagonalis quadrati ab MP siue GP, erunt quoque OZ et KT quadrata; et tum MN, ZX, TG, tum FR, MO, XK illis aequales singulae singulis eodem ordine sumptis continue proportionales.

Quare etiam FM, MX, XG sunt continue proportionales.

Est ergo vt HF prima (id est AD) ad SM secundam, ita SM secunda (id est VS) ad IX (siue DK) tertiam, et ita IX tertia ad DG (id est ad DV) quartam.

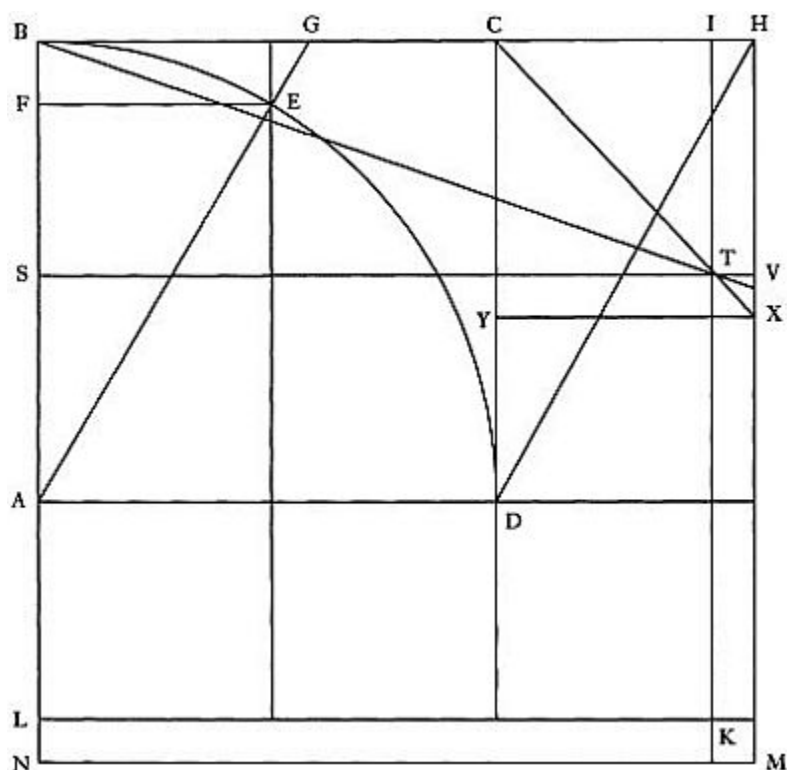
Est ergo VS (aequalis GM) duarum mediarum inter AD et DV major, eademque aequalis summae extremarum AV, minus AS mediâ inter ipsas AD et DV. Quod erat probandum.

Spero agnituros tandem hujus seculi Algebristas et Arithmeticos, diuersas res esse Latus Quadrati, et numeri Quadrati Radicem.

Dubitatio circa propositionem 47. Lib, 1, Euclidis

ABCD est quadratum. Arcus BD quadrantalis, FE sinus 30 graduum. Recta AEG, secans 30 graduum. BG Tangens 30 graduum. Eademque semissis secantis AEG.

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Ergo (per Eucl. 1. 47.) quadratum a BG est ad quadratum ab FE vt 4 ad 3.

Ducta est DH parallela AG. Est ergo CH Tangens 30 graduum. Producta est BC in I, ita vt CI sit dimidia BC. Ergo quadratum a BI, nempe BKIL, aequale est 9 quadratis a CI. Sumpta est IT aequalis CI ductâ ergo BT, quadratum ejus aequale est to quadratis a CI. Quare centro B interuallo BT descriptus arcus circuli si incidet in H, erit BH (quae componitur ex radio BC et Tangente 30 graduum CH) latus quadrati, quod quadratum decuplum est quadrati a CI.

Describatur quadratum BHMN. Est ergo (per Eucl. 2. 4) quadratum BHMN aequale duobus quadratis a BC, CH, et duplo rectangulo sub BC, CH.

Jam quadratum a BC aequale est 4 quadratis a CI. Quadratum autem a CH est $\frac{4}{3}$ quadrati a CI. Itaque summa duorum quadratorum est $5\frac{1}{3}$ quadrata a CI.

Rectangulum autem sub BC, CH est medium proportionale inter

duo quadrata a BC et CH id est inter 4 et $4/3$. Est ergo rectangulum sub BC, CH Radix numeri $5\frac{1}{3}$. Nam 4 multiplicans $4/3$ facit $16/3$ id est $5\frac{1}{3}$.

Itaque duplum rectangulum sub BC, CH est Radix numeri $21\frac{1}{3}$ siue $5\frac{1}{3}$ quadruplicati.

Ergo quadratum a tota BH aequale est $4 + 21\frac{1}{3}$, sumpto semper quadrato a CI pro vnitate.

Est autem Radix numeri $21\frac{1}{3}$ proximè (quantum potest) in numeris

8.

Id quod additum summae quadratorum $5\frac{1}{3}$ facit 10 quadrata a CI.

Quare BT et BH sunt aequales, saltem proxime ita vt differentia neque ad sensum neque ratiocinatione sit sensibilis.

Quare Gnomon IML aequalis est quadrato a CI vel IT proxime. Quoniam ergo quadratum a CH, nempe CX, est [ad]⁹ quadratum a CI nempe CT, vt 4 ad 3, erit Gnomon IHXTY tertia pars quadrati CT.

Et quia quadratum CT aequale est proximè Gnomoni IHXTY, erit Gnomon IHXTY tertia pars Gnomonis IML.

Sed Gnomon IHXTY aequatur duplo rectangulo HT vna cum quadrato TX. Quare Gnomon IML aequatur sextuplo rectangulo HT vna cum triplo quadrato TX. Quod est falsum. Nam Gnomon IML est aequalis sextuplo rectangulo HT, vna cum vnico quadrato TX.

Minor est ergo Gnomon IML triplo Gnomone IHXTY tanto quantum est duplum quadratum TX, id est valde sensibilter. Aut ergo quadratum a BT minus est decuplo quadrato a CI, aut quadratum a CH majus est quam sesquitertium quadrati a CI. Quorum vtrumque est contra prop. 47. [Elem.]¹⁰ 1. Eucl.

Haec non vt propositionem 47.^{am} damnans dico, sed dubitans. Causae autem dubitandi sunt, prima, quod tum quadratum a DH ad quadratum a CH, tum quadratum a diametro, ad quadratum a semidiametro, tum etiam recta composita ex diametro et secante DH ad rectam compositam ex semidiametro et Tangente CH habet rationem 4 ad 1 siue 40 ad 10. Secunda, quod consentiunt numeri. Tertia quod arcus circuli descripti centro B interuallo BT secat rectam BH in H, Quarta, quod in rectangulo non quadrato diagonalis (quia diuidit angulos oppositos non bifariam) non videtur computari posse pro linea pura, sed pro exiguo sectore vt triangulo, quod diuidendo rectangulum, relinquit spatia quidem vtrinque aequalia.

Sed ab vtroque aliquid aufert, quod nisi in rectangulo longo et angusto conspici oculis non potest.

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Cupio, si fieri potest, vt haec a melioribus Geometris considerata clariora fiant, siue calculi mei, qui fortasse rectus [>non] est, errore detergendo, vel rem totam a principijs vsque explicando.

Translation of Letter 164

To the most distinguished M. Sorbière, greetings from his servant⁽¹⁾ Thomas Hobbes.

When I unsealed your letter (which I received at the beginning of January, while I was suffering from a slight fever), as soon as I saw the piece of paper it enclosed I immediately recognized the writing of my old and candid friend.² I had hardly been thinking at all about my geometrical controversies, since I am happy to leave them to the judgement of posterity, whatever it may be. Nor did I think it worth replying to the critics of my demonstrations (which, after so many explanations, are now being published). Yet I could not refrain from satisfying, as best I could, a candid and learned friend, even if he has been diverted from the truth by an error which is commonly committed by geometers. So you will show him, if you like, the other demonstration of the same problem (namely, the duplication of the cube) which I have enclosed in this letter.³ You can also show it, if you wish, to any other geometers.

I do not want to change, confirm, or argue any more about the demonstration which is in the press.⁴ It is correct; and if people burdened with prejudice fail to read it carefully enough, that is their fault, not mine. They are a boastful, backbiting sort of people; when they have built false constructions on other people's principles (which are either false or misunderstood), their minds become filled with vanity and will not admit any new truth. Can a man who believes in the following prodigies really be a suitable judge of my proposition (which is a little more deeply thought out): ten times ten lines are 100 squares; the side of a square and the root of a square number are the same thing; a ratio is a quotient; the same point can be on a line, and outside it, and inside it?

I am also sending you my discovery of two means between any two extremes. I think it is adequately demonstrated. Finally, I am sending you a certain query of mine about the truth of proposition 47 in book 1 of Euclid. If your mathematicians do not solve it, the commonly received principles of geometry have had their day.

I should like all these things to be shown to M. de Carcavi,⁵ who is an experienced geometer⁽⁶⁾ and is likely to show them (if I am not

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mistaken) to the most famous geometers. If they say that the things I think I have demonstrated are false, or that the things I query are obviously true, please write back with their arguments, so that I do not rashly publish my fallacies. Farewell.

Your
Thomas Hobbes

London, 7 March 1664

Translation of enclosure to Letter 164

To find the mean proportionals between any two given extremes

Let there be a square, ABCD, of which the side CD is produced to F, so that CD and DF are equal.

Let any point H be taken on the straight line AD; let FH be added; let HG be drawn perpendicular to FH, cutting BC at G; and let GE be drawn perpendicular to HG, cutting the line AD produced at E. The complete parallelogram HGEI will therefore be a rectangle; and the straight lines FD, DH, DG, and DE will be in continuous proportion— of which DH is the greater of the means, and DG the lesser.

On the line DC let DK be taken as equal to DH, and DL equal to DE; DC, DK, DG, and DL will therefore be in continuous proportion.

Let the mean proportional DM be taken between AD and DE; it will also be the mean between DK and DG.

Having taken the mean DN between DC and DK, and the mean DO between DG and DL, we shall find that DC, DN, DK, DM, DG, DO, and DL are in continuous proportion. Also, the ratio of DC to [CM](7) will be twice that of DM to DL; and the ratio of CL to CM will be twice that of CL to CG. For the ratio of DC to CL is so divided at M that the ratio of DC to CM is twice that of DM to DL; and again, ML is divided so at G that the ratio of CL to CM is twice that of CL to CG.

So by subtracting proportionals from proportionals, we shall find that CL is to CG as CG is to CM. Therefore CG is the mean proportional between CL and CM.

But the straight lines CL and CM are given. Therefore the point G is given, and thence also, by this method, the straight line DG, which is the lesser of the mean proportionals.

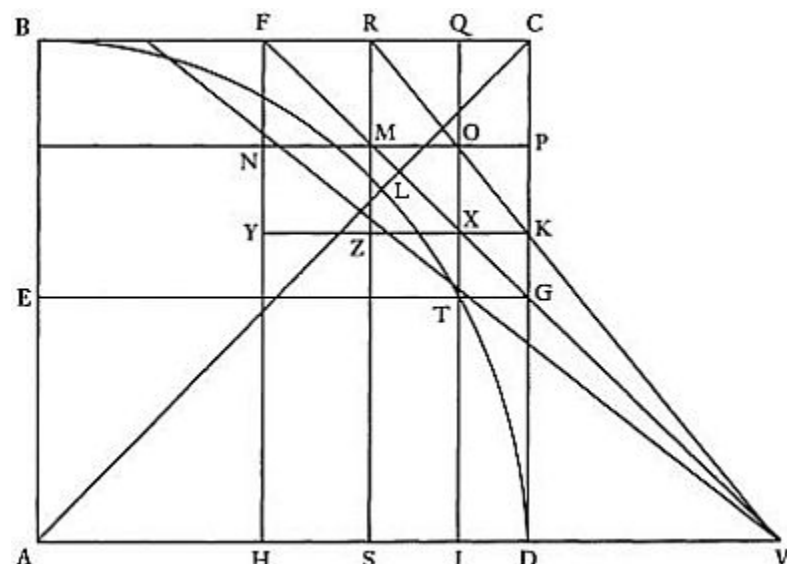
Let the straight line of indefinite length MQ be drawn from M, parallel to the opposite sides BC and AD.

.....
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Let CL be produced to P, so that LP is equal to CM; and let the whole line CP be bisected at a. With a as the centre, let an arc of a circle with the radius aC be drawn, cutting MQ at Q. MQ and CG will then be equal. The lesser of the means, DG, is therefore given. But once the lesser is given, the greater is easily found, because the ratio of DM to DK is the same as that of DG to DM, Or it can be given as follows: if FG is bisected at R, the semicircle with R as its centre and RG as its radius will pass through H.

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Given two extremes, of which one is twice the other, the greater of the means between them is equal to both the extremes minus the mean between them



Let AB be the greater of the extremes, and DV (which is half AD) the lesser. Let ABCD be the square on AD, and let BD be the quadrantal arc, which is bisected by the diagonal AC at L.

When the square ABCD is divided into four equal squares by the straight lines EG and FH, FG will be the diagonal of the square which is drawn on CG, equal to DV.

Let SL, the sine of the arc BL, be drawn, and let it be produced to intersect BC at R, cutting FG at M. Let VF be drawn passing through G, since VF is twice FG. And let VR be drawn also, cutting DC at K.

I say that the greater of the two means which are sought is SM, and the lesser DK.

Let NP be drawn through M, parallel and equal to FC, cutting VR at O, and DC at P; and let VN be added, cutting EG at T. Let KY be drawn from the point K, parallel and equal to NP, cutting VF at X and VN at Z.

Finally, let QO be drawn parallel to CP, and let it be produced to meet HV at I.

When this figure has been made, it is evident (from Euclid book 1, proposition 4) that the triangles VMR and VMN are equal and similar. For they have a common side, VM, and equal bases, MN and MR, and

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the angle VMR is equal to the angle VMN. For each of them is one and a half right-angles.

Therefore the angle RVN is bisected by the straight line FV, and the straight lines VR and VN are equal.

By the same method it can be shown that the straight lines VO and VZ are equal to each other, and so are the straight lines VK and VT.

Therefore, since RN is a square, and MG is the diagonal of the square from MP or GP, OZ and KT will also be squares; and so both MN, ZX, TG, and FR, MO, XK, will each be equal to each of them, taken in the same continuously proportional order.

Therefore FM, MX, XG are also in continuous proportion.

For as the first, HF (that is, AD), is to the second, SM, so the second, SM (that is, VS), is to the third, IX (or DK); and so the third, IX, is to the fourth, DG (that is, to DV).

Therefore VS (which is equal to GM) is the greater of the two means between AD and DV, and it is also equal to the sum of the extremes AV, minus AS, the mean between AD and DV. QED.

I hope that the algebraists and arithmeticians of our age will recognize at last that the side of a square, and the root of a square number, are different things.

A doubt concerning Euclid, book 1, proposition 47

ABCD is a square. BD is the quadrantal arc. FE is the sine of 30 degrees. The straight line AEG is the secant of 30 degrees. BG is the tangent of 30 degrees; it is also half the secant AEG.

Therefore (according to Euclid, book 1, proposition 47), the square on BG is to the square on FE in the ratio of 4 to 3.

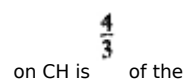
DH is drawn parallel to AG. Therefore CH is the tangent of 30 degrees.

BC is produced to I, so that CI is half BC. Therefore the square on BI, namely BKIL, is equal to nine times the square on CI, IT is equal to CI; so, when the line BT is drawn, the square on it will be equal to ten times the square on CI: Therefore, when an arc of a circle is drawn with its centre at B and the radius BT, if it meets the point H, BH (which is the sum of the radius BC and CH, the tangent of 30 degrees) will be the side of a square, and that square will be ten times the square on CI.

Let the square BHMN be drawn. Then (according to Euclid, book 2, proposition 4), the square BHMN will be equal to the two squares on BC and CH, and twice the rectangle under BC and CH.

Now the square on BC is equal to four squares on CI. But the square

.....
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But the rectangle under BC and CH is the mean proportional between two squares on BC and CH, that is, between 4 and $\frac{4}{3}$.

Therefore the rectangle under BC and CH is the square root of the number 5 $\frac{1}{3}$. For 4 multiplied by $\frac{4}{3}$ equals $\frac{16}{3}$, that is, 5 $\frac{1}{3}$.

But the square root of $21\frac{1}{3}$ is approximately (as close as one can get it)

(8)

When that is added to $5\frac{1}{3}$ (the sum of the squares), it makes a total of ten times the square on CI.

Therefore BT and BH are equal, at least so closely that the difference cannot be discovered either by the senses or by reasoning.

Therefore the gnomon IML is equal to the square on CI, or, approximately, on IT.

And since the square on CH, namely CX, is to⁽⁹⁾ the square on CI, namely CT, in the ratio of 4 to 3, the gnomon IHXTY will be one-third of the square CT.

And since the square CT is approximately equal to the gnomon IHXTY, the gnomon IHXTY will be one-third of the gnomon IML.

But the gnomon IHXTY is equal to twice the rectangle HT together with the square TX, Therefore the gnomon IML is equal to six times the rectangle HT together with three times the square TX. Which is false. For the gnomon IML is equal to six times the rectangle HT, together with the single square TX.

So the gnomon IML is smaller than three times the gnomon IHXTY by an amount equal to two times the square TX, that is, by a very perceptible amount. So either the square on BT is smaller than ten times the square on CI, or the square on CH is greater than one and one-third of the square on CL Each of these is contrary to Euclid, *Elements*⁽¹⁰⁾, book 1, proposition 47.

I say this not to condemn proposition 47, but to cast doubt on it. The reasons for doubting are as follows. The first is that the ratio of the square on DH to the square on CH, and that of the square on the diameter to the square on the radius, and that of the straight line composed of the diameter and the secant DH to the straight line composed of the radius and the tangent CH, are all 4 to 1, or 40 to 10, The second reason is that the numbers agree. The third is that the arc of the circle with its centre at B and its radius BT cuts the straight line BH at H. The fourth is that in a rectangle which is not a square the diagonal evidently cannot be calculated as a pure line (since it does not bisect the opposite angles), so it must be calculated instead as a very thin sector like a triangle, which, when it divides the rectangle, leaves equal spaces on both sides, but takes away something from each side, which cannot be discerned by the eye, except in a rectangle which is long and narrow.

If possible, I should like these things to be studied by better geometers and made clearer—either by finding the fault in my calculation (which is perhaps incorrect), or by explaining the whole thing from first principles.

NOTES

The date of this letter is supplied by Sorbière in Letter 162. The lower-case letters (standing for geometrical points) which are presented here in italics are over-lined in the MS. Tönnies also prints as parts of this letter extracts from the mathematical demonstrations which were enclosed in Hobbes's next surviving letter to Sorbière (Letter 164).

The Danish scholar Ole Borch received an account of this letter, and of a further comment by Hobbes which must derive from another letter (now lost), when he visited Sorbière on [30 Dec. 1663/] 9 Jan. 1664. Borch recorded in his journal: 'I visited M. Sorbière, on the roe des Petits Champs, from whom I heard among other things [...] that he had a letter from Hobbes, who is already in his eighties (but who, nevertheless, plays tennis every Tuesday). In this letter Hobbes tries to show that he has found a duplication of the cube; but Sorbière said there is someone else who thinks that he is playing with a paralogism. To which, however, Hobbes has already replied that that man is not a Fellow of the Royal Society, and that it is against that Society that Hobbes is arming himself.' ('Invisi Dn. *De Sorbiere, a la Rue petit champ*, à quo avditurn inter alia [...] se ab Hobbio jam octogenario (qvi tamen qvovis die Martis pilâ se exercet), literas habere, qvibus conatur ostendere se duplicationem cubi invenisse, esse tamen alium, qui credat cum ludere paralogismo, sed ad hoc Hobbium jam respondisse, illum non esse socium Collegij Naturae, et contra illud Collegium se armare.' (*Itinerarium*, iii, p. 192). 'Collegium Naturae' was Borch's term for the Royal Society (*ibid.*, iii, p. 70). I have interpreted 'pilâ' (literally 'with a ball') as tennis, in the light of Aubrey's testimony (*ABL* i, p. 351), though Aubrey thought he played it only 'twice or thrice a yeare'.)

Commentary on the enclosures to Letter 164

To find the mean proportionals between any two given extremes

'FD, DH, DG, and DE will be in continuous proportion' means these intervals will be in the proportions $l:x:x^2:x^3$.

The argument is correct until the point where he claims that 'the ratio of DC to CM will be twice that of DM to DL', which is not generally true.

Given two extremes, of which one is twice the other ...

'... the sine of the are BL ... '. Here, and in the following proposition, the trigonometric functions are used in the modern sense except that the denominator (the radius of the

circle) is taken to be unity. Thus $\sin 45^\circ = \sin (\text{angle subtended by arc BL}) = \frac{SL}{AL} = SL$ since $AL=1$. Confusingly, SL and the arc BL do not meet on AC in the diagram.

'I say that the greater of the two means which are sought is $SM \dots$ '. This false statement is equivalent to . One reason for this incorrect conclusion is the assumption that X (the intersection of VF with KY) lies on the vertical QI .

A doubt concerning Euclid, book 1, proposition 47

By construction , and . These are found to be equal 'at least so closely that the difference cannot be discovered either by the senses or by reasoning'. A refutation of Euclid follows swiftly.

Further examples of the use of trigonometric functions: FE is the sine of 30° means that angle $F AE = 30^\circ$ and the radius AE is taken to be 1, so . Likewise , and . *G.M.*

8 $\frac{2}{3}$ *MS.*

9 ad omitted in *MS.*

10 Eem. *MS.*

1 Summus *MS.*

2 Letter 162 had enclosed a geometrical problem by Pierre de Carcavi.

3 This refers to the second of the three demonstrations in the enclosure to this letter; cf, Hobbes's comments in the first paragraph of Letter 161.

4 Probably the duplication of the cube at the end of *Problemata physica*, currently being printed (unaltered) in its 2nd edn., in the *Opera philosophica* (pp. 41-2).

5 See Letter 162 and Letter 67 n. 7.

6 Geometra *MS.*

7 DM *MS.*



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Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 165 [20/] 30 April 1664 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (20 April 1664 - 30 April 1664)

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LETTER 165 [20/] 30 APRIL 1664 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Letter: Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 59 (original).

Enclosure: Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 58 (transcript forwarded to Hobbes); BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 181^v–3 (transcript of either original or copy retained by Sorbière).

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En Tibi, Vir clarissime, instantias Doctissimi Slusii, ad quas uellam κατὰ πρόδα responderes.

Dein ego quae utrinque à uobis scripta transmittam Amplissimo Fermatium,¹ ut litem dijudicet. Relatio itineris mei Anglici carceres mordet, & tibi, ut spero, probabitur, uel eò nomine, quod cogitata tua Mathematica enarro, & de patronio tuo minimè sileo.² Plurima autem perstringo luctu non injucunda, non sine sale aliquo, & libertate philosophica. Vale.

Lutetiae paris. prid. Kal. Maias 1664.



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The Correspondence (1679): Letter 165 [20/] 30 April 1664 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (20 April 1664 - 30 April 1664): Enclosure to Letter 165 letter from René- François de Sluse to Samuel Sorbière

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

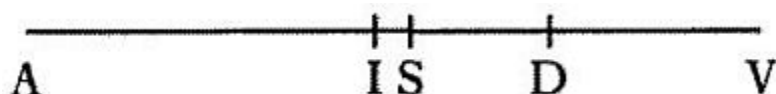
Published in print: 1994

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[enclosed:]
[18/] 28 JANUARY 1664
René-François de Sluse to Samuel Sorbière , from Liège

Nobil.^{mo} et Clar.^{mo} Viro D. Samueli Sorberio Renatus Fran.^{cus} Slusius *χαίρειν καὶ εὐπράττειν*

Ad Epistolam Clar.^{mi} Hobbij quam ad me misisti,³ Vir Doctissime, pauca reponenda existimavi, non ut contentionis funem ducerem, quod et à moribus meis alienum est, et in rebus Mathematicis, quas demonstratione nituntur, inutile, sed ne veritati defuisse viderer. Ac primùm quidem propositio quam ex auctoris mente formaveram, in confesso est, Nempè majorera mediarum inter extremas datas in ratione duplâ, aequalem esse aggregate extremarum, demtâ mediâ inter easdem: quod verò intuleram indè sequi cubum $3-\sqrt{2}$ aequalem esse quatuor, absurditatis arguitur; cùm tamen consequentiae veritatem nullus Mathematicorum, praeter authorem nostrum non agnoscat; Sed cùm eandem sibi factam objectionem scribat à Professore Collegij Greshamensis,⁴ seque eidem respondisse, parcam labori supervacuo, Et consequentiae tuendae partes, quas idem professor facile executurus est, non suspiciam. Vt rem non certiùs, sed



clariùs ostenderem, supposueram AV rectam 87 partium, sectam in D, AD esset 58, et DV 29, in ratione scilicet duplâ; Abstuleram AS mediam inter AD et DV, sive $\sqrt{1682}$, undè sequebatur, ex auctoris mente, rectam VS esse majorem mediarum inter AD et DV: cujus falsitatem ut ostenderem, abstuleram rursùs AI, 41 earundem partium, sive $\sqrt{1681}$, minorem nempe ipsâ AS; cùm haec sit $\sqrt{682}$, et cùm demonstrassem calculo Arithmetico ipsam VI minorem esse majore

mediarum, intuleram, VS, quae minor est VI, esse eâdem maiore mediarum multò minorem. Hic multos notat errores meos Vir Clar.^{mus}, sed primum eundemque, ut ait criticum, ex quo discere omnes poteris: Quod falso scilicet intulerim, cubum ab VI maiore quàm VS, minorem esse dimidio cubi ab AD, et per consequens cubum ab VS, esse eodem multò adhuc minorem. Rationem ejus verbis audi. *Nàm inquit 58 demtâ radice 1682, major est quàm 58 demtâ $\sqrt{1681}$; quia $\sqrt{1681}$ minor est quàm $\sqrt{1682}$. Nàm quò minus est ablatum, eò majus est residuum.*⁵ Quid dicam de hâc Viri doctissimi ἀβλεψία nisi eum cùm haec dictaret dormitasse? Si enim $\sqrt{1681}$ vel AI, minor est $\sqrt{1682}$ vel AS, et utraque ab eâdem rectâ dematur, evidens est residuum ipsius AI, hoc est VI, majus esse residuo ipsius AS, hoc est VS, cùm, ut ipsemet ait, quò minus est ablatum eò majus sit residuum. Pudet ulteriùs rem prosequi, ne insultare velle videar; Itaque ad secundum errorem venio, nempe quod ex multiplicatione 46 in seipsum prodire supposuerim 2116 quadrata, Tertius est, quod rursus ex multiplicatione 2116 in eundem numerum 46 deducim 97336, et computaverim pro totidem cubis, eum sint tantum, ut ait, totidem lineolae. Ad haec nihil aliud reponendum existimo, quàm me eodem modo computasse quo soient Arithmetici quot sunt quoique fuerunt, et, ut non vanè auguror, quotquot post alijs erunt in annis. Nec est quèd me vel reverentiâ, vel praejudicio teneri dicat, cùm nihil me in hisce disciplinis autoritate tribuere vel indè colligare possit, quèd ipsius hanc cubi duplicationem non admittam, cùm tamen ejusdem non vulgarem in rebus literarijs autoritatem agnoscam. Geometriam quam edidisse se scribit,⁶ non vidi, ut seis, sed si fortè in manus meas incidat, veritatem, si quàm ostendet, libenter amplectar. Et haec adversus conclusionem dicta sufficient, superest ut demonstrationem aggrediar in quâ duas paralogysmi causas breviter indicaveram. Cùm enim animadvertissem ab eo non demonstratum puncta t, et h; ut et, n, et z, coincidere, licet eò magnopere contendat, atque in eo totius difficultatis cardo vertatur, schema construxeram, in quo positis eisdem quae in suo determinarat mutatâ tantum ipsius longitudine, eadem omnia deduct possent qua ipse deduxerat, ad articuium usque decimum scilicet, Cujus earn consequentiam falsi redargui, quâ ex aequalitate angulorum Vtc, tVg, Vzh, hVg, infert identitatem linearum Vt, Vh, ex punctorum t, h, faure periculum per te ipse potes, Vir Clar.^{me}, annon omnia quae deducit, et quae deduct possent multò brevius in suo schemata, meo etiam omninò convenient; Nàm totam, ad ilium usque articuium demonstrationem, huic epistola inserere

necessarium non arbitror. Dixeram igitur (et haec prima paralogysmi causa) ex illâ angulorum aequalitate non sequi identitatem punctorum, t, et h, seu aequalitatem linearum Vt, Vh, sed hoc tantum quod tria puncta V, h, t, semper in eâdem rectâ reperirentur, quâcunque tandem sumptâ in AD longitudine ipsius AS, quod quidem non foret operosum ostendere, si esset tanti. Addideram secundo loco, ostendi non posse eorundem punctorum

identitatem, nisi ex determinatâ longitudine ipsius AS ἀποδεικτικῶς deduceretur. Quod cū factum non esset (nec enim in totâ demonstratione mentio ulla fit longitudinis, AS, quam assumpsit) satis me mirari non posse dixeram, quod vel hoc uno τεκμηρίῳ, demonstrationis suae ἀσυλλογιστίαν non agnovisset. Respondet Vir Eximius, me oblitum ejus quod supposuerat, nimirum rectam Rn, transire per S; At quomodò oblitus videri possum illius quod in meo schemate expressi? rectam enim Rn, per S transire, ipse quoque supposui, nec in hoc quidquam differimus. Supposui pariter cum ipso rectam zt, parallelam RS et triangulum ztV esse triangulum isosceles (quod in epistolâ καταχρησικῶς vocat aequilaterum) et triangula zet, Ve[t? *one letter blotted*] esse rectangula, et latus et, parallelum lateri Vg; Sed non latus Ve, aequale gh, cū id nusquàm ostenderit, Nec, ut adhuc dixi, aliter quàm ex determinatâ ipsius AS longitudine ostendere possit. Quod verò me ad Logicos remittit ut discam in demonstratione ducente ad impossibile non necesse fuisse uti rectâ AS quam in constructione assumserat. Animadvertere sanè potuisset me non absque logicorum consilio scripsisse cū Principis eorum Aristotelis verba in Epistolâ expressissem. Nec ab ijs unquam discere potui aliam inter demonstrationem directam et eam qu[am *blotted*] ad impossibile ducit differentiam, quàm quod prior aliquibus positis ostendat aliud necessariò sequi eò quòd haec sunt; alia [*half line deleted*] verò ijsdem positis, fieri non posse, quin aliud sequatur eò quod haec etiam sunt. Plura addi possent; nisi et tu legendo et ego scribendo ambo defessi essemus. Sed cui haec satis non sunt, nihil unquam satis futurum arbitror; Nolo tamen his quicquam detractum Viri Magni gloriae, quem et merito suo, et tuâ commendatione magni semper facturum sum. Vale Vir praestanti.^{me} meque ama.

Dabam Leodici a.d. V. Kal. feb. A. Ch. 1664.

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] Mons.^r de Sorbier. 1664



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Translation of Letter 165

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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Translation of Letter 165

Distinguished Sir,

Here are the most learned M. de Sluse's objections, to which I should like you to reply in detail. Then I shall send both his objections and your reply to the great M. Fermat,¹ so that he may decide who is the victor. My account of my English journey is champing at the starting-gate; you will like it, I hope, in particular because I give an account of your mathematical researches, and am far from silent on the subject of your patron.² On the other hand, I touch on many things with a rather pleasing air of sorrow, not without wit and philosophical frankness. Farewell.

Paris, 30 April 1664.

NOTES

1 See Letter 67 n. 8.

2 See Letter 159 n. 4. The account of Hobbes's mathematical theories is on pp. 225–7,



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Translation of enclosure to Letter 165

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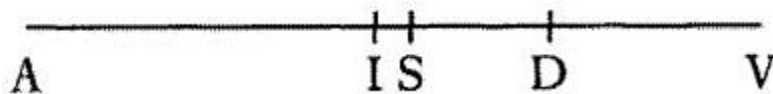
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Translation of enclosure to Letter 165

To the most noble and most distinguished M. Samuel Sorbière, René-François de Sluse sends greetings and best wishes.

I have thought it best to reply briefly to the letter from the most distinguished Hobbes which you sent to me,³ most learned Sir, not in order to spin out a quarrel (which is foreign to my way of doing things, and serves no purpose in mathematical matters, which depend on demonstrations), but so that I may not seem to have failed to supply the truth. Now to begin with, the proposition which I framed in accordance with the author's meaning is acknowledged to be this: that the greater of the means between two given extremes which are in a ratio of 2:1 is equal to the sum of the extremes minus the mean between them, I inferred from that that it would follow that the cube of $3\sqrt{2}$ would be equal to 4, which indicates an absurdity. However, since there is no mathematician, apart from our author, who will not acknowledge that the consequence is correctly drawn, and since he writes that he replied to the same objection when it was made to him by the Professor of Gresham College,⁴ I shall not waste my time, and shall not undertake to confirm those parts of the consequence which that Professor will easily prove.



In order to demonstrate the matter, if not more certainly then at least more clearly, I supposed AV to be a straight line of 87 units, which is

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cut at D. AD is 58, and DV is 29—in other words, in a ratio of 2:1. I took AS as the mean between AD and DV, namely $\sqrt{1,682}$, from which it followed, according to the author, that the straight line VS is the greater of the means between AD and DV. In order to prove the falsity of that claim, I next took AI as 41 of those units, that is, $\sqrt{1,681}$, which is clearly less than AS; since AS is $\sqrt{1,682}$, and since I had demonstrated by an arithmetical calculation that VI was less than the greater of the means, I took VS, which is less than VI, to be much less than that same greater mean. That most distinguished man finds me guilty of many mistakes in all this; but the first of them, the critical one (as he puts it) by which you can learn to know all the others, is that I wrongly took the cube on VI, which is greater than VS, to be less than half the cube on AD, and consequently the cube on VS to be even less, by a large amount. Listen to the reason, in his own words: 'For', he says, '58 minus $\sqrt{1,682}$ is greater than 58 minus $\sqrt{1,681}$, since $\sqrt{1,681}$ is less than $\sqrt{1,682}$, and the smaller the quantity subtracted, the greater the quantity that remains.'⁵ What can I say about this blindness on the part of this very learned man, except that he was nodding off when he dictated this? For if $\sqrt{1,681}$, or AI, is less than $\sqrt{1,682}$, or AS, and if each of them is taken away from the same straight line, it is obvious that what is left by AI, namely VI, will be greater than what is left by AS, namely VS, since, as he himself has said, the smaller the amount taken away, the greater the amount which is left. It embarrasses me to pursue this point any further, for fear of seeming to want to insult him.

So I come to the second mistake, which is that I supposed that multiplying 46 by itself would produce 2,116 squares. The third mistake is that again, by multiplying 2,116 by 46 I arrived at 97,336, which I counted as so many cubes, whereas they are only, as he puts it, so many lines. The only reply I think I should make here is that I calculated in the same way that is normally used by all the arithmeticians who exist, who have existed, and (I confidently predict) who will exist in years to come. Nor is there any reason why he should say that I am constrained by reverence or prejudice, since in these sciences nothing can make me submit to authority, and no authority can prevent me from refusing to accept this duplication of the cube of his—even though I acknowledge his authority (which is valued by the learned) in literary matters. As you know, I have not seen the book of geometry which he says he has published;⁶ but if by any chance it comes into my hands, I shall willingly embrace any truth that is demonstrated in it.

What I have already said should be sufficient to deal with his

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conclusion, and it only remains for me to come to his demonstration, in which I indicate briefly two reasons for his paralogism. For since I had observed that he had not demonstrated that the points t and h coincide, nor for that matter the points n and z (although he strongly contends that they do), and since the whole difficulty with his demonstration hinges on this point, I drew a diagram in which, when all the points were arranged as they were in his diagram (changing only the length of AS), one can deduce all the conclusions which he deduced, up till his tenth paragraph. That is the paragraph where I accused him of drawing a false consequence, namely that because the angles Vtc , tVg , Vzh , and hVg are equal, it follows that the lines Vt and Vh , from the points t and h , are identical. You can see the danger for yourself, most distinguished Sir, for do not all the things which he deduces, and which can be deduced much more concisely in his diagram, also match my diagram completely? For I do not think it is necessary to include in this letter the entire demonstration up to that paragraph. So I would say (and this is the first reason for his paralogism) that given the equality of those angles, it does not follow that the points t and h are identical, or that the lines Vt and Vh are equal; it follows only that the three points V , h , and t will always be found on the same straight line, whatever the length of AS is taken to be on AD . That would not be difficult to demonstrate, if it were worth bothering to do so.

Secondly I would add that those same points cannot be shown to be identical, unless it is deduced by strict proof from a given length of AS . And since he did not do that (nor is there any mention in the entire demonstration of the length of AS , which he just assumed), I said that I could not contain my amazement that he did not recognize, by means of this one sign, the illogicality of his demonstration. This eminent man replies that I had forgotten his supposition that the straight line Rn passes through S . But how could I appear to have forgotten that, when I included it in my own diagram? For I too supposed that the straight line Rn passed through S ; nor do we disagree in the slightest on that point. I also supposed, as he did, that the straight line zt was parallel to RS , and that the triangle ztV was an isosceles triangle (which he mistakenly calls an equilateral triangle in his letter), and that the triangles zet and Vet were right-angled, and that the side et was parallel to Vg . But I did not suppose that the side Ve was equal to gh , since he nowhere demonstrated that it was. Nor, as I have said, can it be demonstrated, except from a given length of AS . Whereupon he sends me off to the logicians to learn that in a demonstration proving an impossibility it was not

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necessary to use the straight line AS , which he assumed in his construction. He could indeed have observed that what I wrote was not contrary to the logicians, since I had quoted the words of the prince of logicians, Aristotle, in my letter. Nor could I ever learn from them that there was any difference between a direct demonstration and a demonstration proving an impossibility, except that the former makes some suppositions and shows that something else necessarily follows from them, and the latter, having made the same suppositions, shows that something else must follow from them which is incompatible with their existence. There are many things I could add, were it not for the fact that you would weary yourself reading them, and I would weary myself writing them. But I think that anyone who does not find what I have written here sufficient will never be satisfied. Yet I do not wish hereby to detract from the reputation of that great man, whom I shall always count as a great man, both because of his own merit and because of your recommendation of him. Farewell, excellent Sir, and love me.

Liège, 28 February 1664

NOTES

3 Letter 161.

4 See Letter 160 n. 4.

5 See Letter 161 n. 3.

6 *Problemata physica*.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 166 [21 June/] 1 July 1664 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (21 June 1664 - 01 July 1664)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 166 [21 JUNE/] 1 JULY 1664 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 60 (original).

Monsieur,

Puis que Vous aués ueu M. Blaeu¹ à Londres, & que Vous aués maintenant commerce directement avecque luy je ne me mets plus en peine de l'impression de Vos oeuvres, si ce n'est pour Vous prier & luy aussi d'y adjouster Vostre *Leuiathan*, dont Vous deuriès faire une uersion Latine, ou bien permettre qu'il la fit faire a ce scauant homme qui a traduit beaucoup de choses de M. le Chancelier Bacon.² Je Vous enuoye ma Relation du uoyage que je fis l'annee passee en uos quartiers. J'espere que Vous la uerrès de bon oeil, & que [> vous] y lirès

.....
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avec plaisir ce que je dis de M. le Comte de Deuonshire.³ On a trouuè icy que ce petit ouurage estoit assès bien tourné & plein de matieres considerables. Vous y estes en diuers endroits, comme c'est Vous avec qui j'ay le plus conuersé, & que j'ay le plus dans ma pensee: Car en uerité je m'estime heureux de m'estre rencontré de Vostre temps, & d'auoir eu la part que j'ay depuis long temps en uos bonnes graces; Ce qui m'a donné le moyen de [> vous] connoistre plus particulièrement que beaucoup d'autres, & de profiter un peu de l'excellent genie donc Dieu Vous a pourueu. Je Vous prie de m'aimer tousjours comme Vous faites depuis vingt cinq ans, & de m'en donner une preuue en rendant à M. de la Sale⁴ porteur de la presente tous les bons offices qu'il desirera de Vous. Il ueult porter les armes, & s'approcher de Vostre cour. Donnés luy, s'il vous plaist, Vos amis, & vos patrons de ce pays-là. Il en est tres digne, & m'est recommandé par de mes intimes amis, auxquels i'ay dit, que peut estre une de mes lettres à Vous luy seroit plus utile, que toutes celles dont il

se charge dailleurs. Vous n'estes pas de ces gens, [*Philosophica*]⁵ *sententia, ignaua opera*,⁶ & vous faites tout ce que Vous enseignés. J'admire Vostre esprit dans les plus profondes speculations des sciences; mais j'admire encore dauantage Vostre bonté, uostre courtoisie, & toutes ces belles qualités qui vous rendent un parfaitement honneste homme, aussi bien qu'un grand philosophe. Vous ne manquès en aucun des deuoirs de la uie ciuile, Vous estes bon ami, bon Courtisan, & de la meilleure humeur du monde. Je m'en rapporte à nostre promenade de Tilborne,⁷ & à la gayeté de toutes uos conuersations de l'annee passee, dont je me souuiendray tousjours, comme d'un des plus beaux endroits de ma uie. Tecum uiuere amem, tecum obeam libens.⁸ Je ferais uolontiers une seconde Course un Angleterre pour Vous y embrasser. Dieu uueille que je Vous y trouue en bonne santé d'icy a dix ans, & ayant la mesme affection pour moy que Vous m'auès tesmoignee. Je suis,

Monsieur,
Vostre tres humble tres obeissant & tres passioné seruiteur
Sorbier

A paris le 1, de Juill. 1664.

[addressed:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Hobbes a Londres

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Translation of Letter 166

Sir:

As you have seen M. Blaeu¹ in London, and now communicate directly with him, I shall no longer trouble myself over the printing of your works, except to beg you—and him—to add your *Leviathan* to them. You should make a Latin translation of it, or at least allow him to have one made by that learned man who has translated many of Lord Chancellor Bacon's works.²

I am sending you my account of the journey which I made to your part of the world last year, I hope you will look favourably on it, and enjoy reading what I say in it about the Earl of Devonshire,³ The impression here has been that this little work is rather nicely put and full of interesting material. Several passages refer to you, since you are the person I talked to most, and think about most of all. Indeed I count myself fortunate that you gave me your time, and that I have enjoyed a place in your favour for many years—this has given me the opportunity to get to know you more closely than many other people, and to benefit a little from the brilliant intellect with which God has endowed you.

I beg you to love me always, as you have done for the last twenty-five years, and to demonstrate your love for me by giving M. de la Sale⁴ (who brings this letter) all the assistance he may require of you. He wishes to bear arms, and to enter your Court. Please make available to him your friends and your patrons in England. He is very worthy of them, and was recommended to me by some of my close friends; I told them that perhaps one of my letters to you would be more useful to him than all the other ones which he brings with him. You are not one of those people who have 'philosophical'⁽⁵⁾ opinions and ignoble actions':⁶ you act in accordance with everything you teach.

I admire your intellect in scientific theorizing of the most profound kind; but I admire even more your goodness, your courtesy, and all those fine qualities which make you a perfect gentleman as well as a great philosopher. You fulfil all the duties of civil life, you are a good friend, a good courtier, and of the best temperament in the world, I remember our walk together at Tilbourne,⁷ and the gaiety of all your conversations last year, which I shall always remember as one of the happiest times of my life. 'I should love to live

with you, and would willingly die with you.¹⁸ I should willingly take a second trip to England in order to embrace you there. May God will that I find you there in

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good health ten years from now, and bearing the same affection towards me that you have already shown me. I am, Sir,

Your most humble, most obedient, and most devoted servant, Sorbière

Paris, 1 July 1664.

[addressed:] To Mr Hobbes in London

NOTES

¹ Johan Blaeu.

¹ Johan Blaeu.

² Isaac Gruter (1610–80), a Dutch scholar who acquired several Bacon MSS from the collection of Sir William Boswell after the latter's death: he published translations of a number of minor English works by Bacon as *Scripta in naturali et universalt philosophia* (1653), as well as a translation of *Sylva sylvarum* (1661).

² Isaac Gruter (1610–80), a Dutch scholar who acquired several Bacon MSS from the collection of Sir William Boswell after the latter's death: he published translations of a number of minor English works by Bacon as *Scripta in naturali et universalt philosophia* (1653), as well as a translation of *Sylva sylvarum* (1661).

³ See Letters 159 n. 4, and 165 n. 2.

³ See Letters 159 n. 4, and 165 n. 2.

⁴ Unidentified.

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ *Philosophia* MS.

⁵ *Philosophia* MS.

⁶ Source unidentified.

⁶ Source unidentified.

⁷ Probably Tilbury, the port twenty-one miles east of London.

⁷ Probably Tilbury, the port twenty-one miles east of London.

⁸ Horace, *Odes*, 3.9. 24.

⁸ Horace, *Odes*, 3.9. 24.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 167 30 June [/10 July] 1664 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from London (30 June 1664 - 10 July 1664)

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LETTER 167 30 JUNE [/10 JULY] 1664 HOBBES TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM LONDON

Bodl. MS Aubrey 12, fo. 164 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 192 (transcript).

Printed in Tönnies, 'Analekten', p. 312.

Noble Sir

Your Letter from Paris I receiued yesterday,¹ and for feare you should leaue the Towne before my answer came, I thought fit to write it to day. Though I haue not much to say more then that I am glad that you arriued there without preiudice to your health, and that I approue of your designe to see the Loyer and the country of Brittany, and that about Geneua.² For though you assigne your selfe lesse time perhaps then those lournes require, yet I see you meane to husband all your time to your best advantage. I haue nothing to add but my wishes for your safety, and the continuance of your health, which is not to be despaired of in one that can temper himself from excesses, and especially in fruit, as you can. I remaine

S^r

Your most humble & affectionate seruant

Thomas Hobbes.

London June 30th 1664.

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[*postscript:*] I had my Telescopes (or rather my Lord of Newcastles) some from Rome, some [*>from*] Florence,³ but there be as good made at London.

[*addressed:*] A Monsieur

Monsieur Aubray Gentilhomme Anglais chez Mons^r de Houlle⁴ dans le Cloistre de St. Iulien le
pouure au Roche d'or; deuant la fontaine de St. Seuerin pres du chastelet

A Paris⁵

NOTES

¹ This letter has not apparently survived,

² Hobbes had seen the Loire valley and Geneva in his journeys in 1629–30 and 1634–6, but it is not known whether he had visited Brittany.

³ The Marquess of Newcastle's collection of seven telescopes (four made by Eustachio Divini in Rome, two by Evangelista Torricelli in Florence, and one by Francesco Fontana in Naples) was acquired by Hobbes in Paris in 1648 for 106 pistoles (NUL MSS Pw 1 668 (Cav. Misc. 120) and Pw 1 406 (Cav. Misc. 43)). Hobbes sold the collection to the third Earl of Devonshire in 1659 for £80 (Chatsworth, MSS Hobbes E, 3 and Hardwick 33, entries for Apr. 1659).

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ 'To Mr Aubrey, English gentleman, staying with M. de Houlle, in the churchyard of Saint-Julien-Le-Pauvre, at the sign of the golden rock; in front of the fountain of Saint-Sèverin, near the Châtelet, Paris'.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 168 [24 July/] 3 August 1664 François du Verdus to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (24 July 1664 – 03 August 1664)

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LETTER 168 [24 JULY/] 3 AUGUST 1664 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS, FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 61 (original).

Monsieur,

J'ay douté si je vous écrirois par la voye de M^r Capel¹ ou de droiture Je trouvois plus de respect à vous écrire par M^r Capel: mais puis qu'il me tient rigueur; qu'il ne m'écrit de vous Monsieur ni de luy mesme, soit que ses affaires l'occupent, ou qu'il ne songe plus en moy: je prens le plus seur et vous écris de droiture, je veus dire par la voye ordinaire de M^r Andrew Crooke,² Je vous diray donc Monsieur que nous eumes icy n'agueres M^r le Comte Sandwich (le fils de Monsieur le General Montagu) accompagné de M^r du Prat,³ Vous sçavés quel M^r du Prat: le mesme par lequel vous m'avés fait bien souvant l'honneur de m'écrire Aumoins il m'a asseuré que cette main inconuë jusqu'alors estoit la siene dont vous vous serviés pour cela. Ce mesme Monsieur du Prat

.....
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m'aprit de grandes nouveles et me dona je vous asseure un sentiment de joye des plus grands que j'aye eus de ma vie. Il me dit que vous estiés en santé; Que le Roy de Grand Bretagne vous faisoit pension de quatre cents Jacobus;⁴ Que vous mettiés en vers latins toute votre Philosophie en un stile a peu près tel que celuy d'hésiode⁵ que pour cela mesmes vous vous etiés randu très familier. Je ne vous diray point icy de ma joye pour de si grandes nouvelles Mais des que j'entendis parler d'un Poeme Philosophique j'eus dessein de le Traduire aussitôt qu'il paroistroit en verssi sciolti Italiens Tels que ceus d'Annibal Caro dont il a traduit l'Eneide.⁶ Que dirés vous de ce dessein? Mais pour montrer Monsieur que

je fais de ces vers là avec quelque facilité, Je pourrais vous envoyer une Espece d'operetta que je fis n'aguere sur les Amours de deus femmes se donnant leur coeur l'une l'autre reciproquement l'Operetta a pour Titre Iride Innamorata di fenice. Mais je craindrois que ce paquet fut trop gros. Cependant Mr Capel pourra vous dire son sentiment de cette certaine poesie Car je la luy recitay d'un bout a l'autre (c'est a dire quelque cinq a six cents vers) un beau matin que pour cela il fut assés de loisir. Mais affin qu'en quelque façon vous jugiés [aussi *deleted*] sinon de la pieçe par ce petit échantillon [Mais au moins *deleted*>; pour le moins] de la maniere dont je fais ces vers Au lieu de la nuit Poetique en voicy une Philosophique que j'y faisois venir en certain endroit pour certain songe d'Iris qui est comme une Espeçe de jouissance.

Gira del Cielo in tomo
la machina stupenda, ampia, et immensa:
e girando, con seco
tutti trasporta pur gli Orbi, e le sfere
delli steilanti Globi, e de i Pianeti.
Nel passar dall'Eoe⁷
alle rive dell'Ebro,⁸
l'Astro del giorno a noi la luce invola:
Che renitente al moto, e contumace,
stà pur salda la Terra;
E'l Ciel d'intorno a se lascia che passi.
O pur (corne Altri hà detto:)
(già al'incredibil sia,
che tal Pelago immenso, indefinito,
e de i fuochi celesti
per entro nel profondo in esso sparst,
vasti pur et enormi,
et altrettanti Soli,
l'innumerabit schiera

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intorno ad un sol punto,
et in si breve tempo,
di tal moto si muova:)
Il Sol è ch'è nel centro
del sistema de i corpi intorno a lui;
e (come ogni altra fissa)
ei si muove in se stesso; e dà la mossa
dell'aria all' ampio mar di cui vien cinto:

(ch'il Sol altro non è che fiamma e fuoco:)
Indi portati in volta
in quel Pelago d'aria i Globi immerssi,
và pur la Terra anch'Essa;
e segue del Torrente il ratto corsso.
Mà si volge in se stessa:
perche d'all'Ebro all'Indo
hà tirate di rocche Alpestri, et alte,
ch'incontrandole il mosso ampio Torrente
pur di quel raggirar li diede il moto:
o, che dal fuoco interno
fin dal Principio l'habbi, e lo ritenga.
Gira dunque la Terra:
E quanto di se prima al Sol volgea,
nel buio immerge poi dell' ombra sua.
Cost gode a vicenda
ogni parte di lei
hor'al Sole il calor, la luce, il moto;
hor'il riposo all' ombra,
Ecco venuto'l tempo
di goder quel riposo.
dorme l'augello in nido;
la fera per li boschi; in mar il pesce:
perche a tenerli desti
si vorrebbe del Sole il vivo fuoco.
dormon per le Campagne
i Pastori, i bifolchi:
tutta per la Città la Plebe dorme,
del faticar del giorno horamai stanchi.
Dorme pur alla Corte
Chi del nostro riposo hà sempre cura;
chi fa di grandi Imprèse, e viene a capo;
l'heröe de'i di nostri, Il Gran Luigi:
perche il tener in mano

.....
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di gran regno il temone,
e reggerne la mole,
è fatica d' ogni altra
come ch'importi più, più grande assai.
In Cielo, in Terra, in Mar, dorme ogni cosa:

La Bell' Iri non dorme:
che fuoco sente in sen; ne li vien sonno;
ne di pensar si stracca
alla sua (che tanto ama) Alma fenice,
&c.

Voylà donc de ma Manière, Je serois ravy d'en avoyr votre sentiment en Amy. vous diray-je d'un autre dessein? C'est en attendant que je sache precisement coment vivre avec nos Druydes du Royaume des Ténèbres⁹ ou que m'en etant sauvè tout a fait je sois en liberté de faire imprimer ma Traduction de toutes vos Oeuvres¹⁰ (sur la nouvelle Edition que M^r Blaeu¹¹ m'a promise des qu'il l'aura achevée) Pour reconoitre en quelque façon l'honneur que vous me fites de me dedier votre Examinatio et Emendatio Mathematicae hodiernae, Et pour rendre publics mes sentimens de veneration pour vous je songeois a vous dedier ma Traduction de la Sagesse des Anciens de François Bacon¹² avec quelques Remarques de ma façon sur les endroits les plus importants. Pour cela il seroit bon que je sceusse précisément ce qu'il me semble qu'on m'assura des-long-tems Que vous avés esté secretaire des Etudes de ce Chancelier Bacon¹³ Car ce seroit là une chose a mettre dans l'Epitre dedicatoyre et mesmes a alleguer corne un de mes motifs. Eclaircissés moy de cela je vous en prie Et pour me combler de joye écrivés moy la verité de ce que me dit de vous M^r du Prat Mais écrivés moy sur tout je vous prie Que vous avés toujours la mesme Amitié pour moy que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de me temoigner et dont je suis si glorieus Et que vous me croyés fort ce que je suis de tout mon coeur et seray toute ma vie. Je veus dire

Monsieur
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus.

A Bourdeaus le 3^e Aout 1664.

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Translation of Letter 168

Sir,

I was not sure whether to write to you via Mr Capell,¹ or directly. I thought it would be more respectful to write to you via Mr Capell; but since he deals harshly with me—he sends me no news, either of you or of himself, whether because his business takes up his time, or because he no longer thinks of me—I am choosing the safer option and writing to you directly (that is, via Mr Andrew Crooke).²

So let me tell you, Sir, that we recently had the Earl of Sandwich here (the son of General Mountagu), accompanied by M. du Prat,³ You know which M. du Prat I mean: the one via whom you have often done me the honour of writing to me. At least, he assured me that that hitherto unknown handwriting which you made use of for that purpose was his own. This M. du Prat told me some important news, and gave me, I assure you, one of the greatest feelings of joy I have had in my life. He told me that you were in

good health; that the King of Great Britain was paying you a pension of 400 jacobus pieces;⁴ and that you were putting your entire philosophical system into Latin verse, in a style somewhat similar to that of Hesiod,⁵ with whose works you had closely familiarized yourself for that purpose. I shall completely refrain from telling you here what joy I had at hearing such important news. But as soon as I heard mention of a philosophical poem, I conceived the plan of translating it, as soon as it appeared, into Italian *versi sciolti*, like the ones Annibale Caro used in his translation of the *Aeneid*.⁶

What will you say to this plan? But to show you, Sir, that I write that kind of verse with a certain degree of facility, I could send you a sort of short opera which I wrote recently about the loves of two women, who fall in love with each other. The work is called 'Iris in love with Phoenix'. But I am afraid that the parcel would be too large. However, Mr Capell can tell you his opinion of this poem, since I recited it to him from start to finish (that is, about 500 or 600 lines) one fine day when he had enough free time for it. But to let you judge to some extent, not the whole piece by this little sample, but at least the style in which I write these verses: here, instead of a poetical night-scene, is a philosophical one, which I put in at one point to introduce a dream dreamt by Iris, and which is like a kind of celebration:

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Around the heavens there moves
the stupendous, vast, and immense machine;
and, as it moves, it carries with it
everything—the orbs and spheres
of the starry globes and the planets.
Passing from Eos⁷
to the banks of the Ebro,⁸
the day-star sends us its light;
for, refusing to move, and contumacious,
the Earth stands still,
and lets the heavens revolve around her.
Or rather (as others have said)
since it is incredible
that such an immense, unbounded sea,
with the heavenly fires
scattered throughout its depths
—vast, enormous,
like so many suns—
incredible that such an innumerable host
should move, with such motion,
around a single point,
and in such a short time,
it is the Sun which is at the centre
of the system of bodies which surrounds it.
And, like every fixed star,
it moves within itself, and gives motion
to the air of the vast sea which surrounds it
(for the Sun consists of nothing but flame and fire);
by that motion the immense globes of the planets
are carried round, in that sea of air,
and the Earth is carried too,
following the swift flight of the rushing stream.
But the Earth also turns on herself:
for, from the Ebro to the Indus,
she has drawn up high, mountainous crags,
and when the vast, rushing stream strikes them,
it gives the Earth that revolving motion.
Or else the Earth gets it from her own internal fire,
and has had it from the beginning, and retains it.
So the Earth revolves:
and that part of her which she first turns towards the Sun,
she then plunges into the darkness of her own shadow.
And so in turn

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every part of her enjoys
first the Sun's heat, light, and motion,
and then the night's repose.
And now the time has come

to enjoy that repose.
 The bird sleeps in the nest,
 the wild beast in the woods, the fish in the sea;
 because to keep them wide awake
 they need the living fire of the Sun.
 In the countryside
 the shepherds and ploughmen are sleeping;
 throughout the city the people are sleeping,
 tired out now by the day's toil.
 At Court, even he is sleeping,
 who always has charge of our repose,
 he who undertakes great tasks, and brings them to fruition,
 the hero of our epoch, Louis the Great;
 for holding in one's hand
 the great rudder of a great kingdom,
 and governing its vast mass,
 is a task much, much greater
 (since it is of greater importance) than any other.
 In the Heavens, on the Earth, in the sea, everything is asleep;
 but the beautiful Iris does not sleep:
 for she feels fire in her breast; and sleep does not come to her;
 nor does she tire of thinking
 of her own dearest Phoenix, whom she loves so much.
 Etc.

That is a sample of my style. I should be delighted to have your opinion of it, as a friend. Shall I tell you about another plan I have? It is that, while I am waiting to discover how exactly I can live with our druids of the Kingdom of Darkness,⁹ or when I have escaped their clutches completely, I should be free enough to have my translation of all your works¹⁰ printed (translated, that is, from the new edition, of which M. Blaeu¹¹ has promised to send me a copy as soon as he has done it). I would do this as some sort of acknowledgement of the honour which you did me of dedicating your *Examinatio et emendatio* to me. And, to make public my feelings of veneration for you, I was planning to dedicate my translation of Francis Bacon's *De sapientia veterum* to you,¹² with some commentaries, in my style, on the most important passages. For that purpose I should like to know precisely

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about something which I think I was told a long time ago, namely, that you were a secretary to this Chancellor Bacon in his studies.¹³ For that would be something for me to include in my dedicatory epistle, and even to put forward as one of my reasons for dedicating it to you. So please enlighten me on that point. And to make my joy complete, tell me whether what M. du Prat said about you is true. But above all, please tell me that you still bear the same friendly feelings towards me, feelings which you have done me the honour of attesting to publicly, and in which I glory. And tell me that you firmly believe me to be, Sir, that which I am with all my heart and shall be for all my life—I mean,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
 du Verdus

Bordeaux, 3 August 1664.

NOTES

¹ See Letter 163 n. 1.

² See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.

³ See Letter 155 n. 5, and the entry for François du Prat in the Biographical Register, Du Verdus incorrectly gives Lord Hinchinbrooke the title of his father, the Earl of Sandwich (who was appointed General-at-Sea by Cromwell in 1656, and retained that rank after the Restoration).

⁴ The jacobus was a gold coin, first struck in the reign of James I; its value varied from 22s. to 23s 8d. during this period. Hobbes's pension was £100; either du Verdus or du Prat had apparently confused the jacobus with a crown.

⁵ The only surviving work to which this could possibly refer is the poem 'De motibus solis, aetheris & telluris' (Toronto University MS 3064), printed in *Anti-White*, pp. 441–7; but its editors have argued that this poem was written before the completion of *De corpore* (ibid., pp. 75–7). The Latin verse *Historia ecclesiastica* was not written until Sept.– Oct. 1671, when James Wheldon received payment for writing it out (Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 19, entry for that date).

⁶ Annibale Caro (1507–66), a popular author of burlesque and satirical poetry, first used *versi sciolti* (blank verse) in an 'Ecloga' of 1534. His *Eneide di Virgilio, tradotta in verst sciolti* was published in 1581.

⁷ The Greek name for dawn.

⁸ The longest river in Spain, flowing from the north-east of the country into the Mediterranean.

⁹ Meaning, evidently, Jesuits or other Roman Catholic priests. Du Verdus refers to the last part of *Leviathan*, though the term 'druids' is not used there.

¹⁰ See Letter 75 n. 2.

¹¹ Probably Johan Blaeu.

¹² This translation was never published.

¹³ This is confirmed by Aubrey (*ABL* i, p. 331). That Hobbes had some contact with Bacon is indicated by the accounts of the first Earl of Devonshire: an entry in the summary of law charges for the Easter term 1619 states: 'to May To Mr Hobbs for a L[ette]re from the Lord Chauncellor to Jane Countess of Shrewsbury £1 2s', and an entry for 24 May [/3 June] 1620 records: 'to Mr Hobbes weh he gaue away at ye Lo: Chanc. ij8.' (Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 29, pp. 605, 633). For possible contacts between Hobbes and Bacon in 1618 see Malcolm, *De Dominis*, pp. 47–54.



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Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence (1679): Letter 169* [13/] 23 August 1664 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Nantes (13 August 1664 - 23 August 1664)

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LETTER 169 [13/] 23 AUGUST 1664 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM NANTES*

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 346^v–347^r (transcript).

Viro doctissimo Thomae Hobbio, Samuel Sorberius.

Vnde mihi Exilium istud accersiuerim faciliè intellexeris, Vir Sapientissime, ex Libro quem tibi non ita pridem tradidit Nobilis quidam cum Epistolis ante calamitatem meam scriptis.¹ Quod de tota gente Anglica dixi, non existimabam offendere posse Viros sapientes, quos plurimos esse scio; nec alia fuit *παρρησία* mea ab illa quâ vsus est Londini, qui Anglicè characterem morum Anglicorum edito saepiùs Libello protulit.² Verùm non [inficiari]³ eo lapsum me grauitè circa Illustriss. Virum, quem amoenioribus Musis operam non multam dedisse, nec multum Literatis fauere significauit.⁴ Poenas itaque meritas imprudentiae meae luo & grauissimas quidem: Nam praeter inustam famae Edicto Regio⁵ notam, & Aulae totius factam in me indignationem, fortunarum mearum tanta & tam subita contigit euersio, vt planè de me, meisque actum sit in posterum, nisi Clementia Illustrissimi Cancellarij vestri justissimae ejus iracundiae breui succedat, Quod qua ratione tandem fieri poterit non video, nisi tu & optimus Patronus tuus,⁶ atque Celsissimus Princeps Robertus⁷ & Nobilissimus Eques Moravius⁸ alijque quos in infausta Scriptiuncula laudaui pro me intercedere dignentur. Totam itaque solertiam tuam & fauorem quo polles apud Magnatos & Viros Principes compello vt mihi quamprimùm opituletur. Quod si Vir amplissimus exorari se patiat, & veniam concedat, nullo alio opus erit argumento vnde ostendere possim quàm faueat Musis, quae me in socium Academiae Regiae Londinensis adsciuerè,⁹ & quibus huc vsque vsus sum benignis. Certè enim praedicare possum doctos innumeros & bonos sorti meae indoluisse, nec planè inglorium fore Illustrissimo D. Cancellario si me Libris & Literatis

reddat incolumem. Non cessauit tamen ad Blaium¹⁰ nostrum scribere ut in operibus tuis excudendis paulò se diligentior praestet, nec per me stabit ut voti compos fias.¹¹ Verùm ad doctissimum Senatorem [Fermatium]¹² non mittendam duxi Velitationem cum

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Renato francisco Slusio circa Duplicationem Cubi antequam ea haberem quae sub prelo versari narrant posteriores Epistolae tuae.¹³ Quid ipse nunc agam medio in luctu & moerore nihil aliud dicere possum qui sola recordatione amicitiae tuae dolorem meum lenio. Tu Viue, Vale Vir Sapientissime, & feliciter cum Maecenate tuo aevi quod superest necessitudinis nostrae mentor transige.

Nanneti X, Kal. Septemb. 1664.

[*postscript:*] Illustrissimus Eques Grammontius¹⁴ ad nos rediens in se recepit culpa nostrae deprecationem. Vide, quaeso, Virum & Vires confer. Ego ad Celsissimum Principem Robertum scripsissem, sed commendatitias ab ejus Sorore Abbatissa,¹⁵ quae mihi multum fauet expecto. Tuas Lutetiam eodem tempore loci mitte, patet enim ibi domus mea Amicis & Musis Maury¹⁶ meum inhabitantem inuisentibus. Iterum Vale.

Translation of Letter 169

Samuel Sorbière to that most learned man Thomas Hobbes.

Wiseest of men, you will easily understand how I have brought this exile on myself when you read the book which a certain nobleman delivered to you not so long ago, together with the letters which I had written before my calamity.¹ I did not think that what I said about the entire English people could offend learned men—of whom I know there are a large number. Nor was my outspokenness any different from that of the person in London who brought out a description of the English way of life which has been through several editions in English.² Of course, I cannot deny⁽³⁾ that I made a serious mistake when I wrote, of a most illustrious man, that he paid little attention to the fairer Muses and did not favour men of letters.⁴ So I am paying the due penalty for my imprudence—and an extremely severe one, since apart from the branding of my reputation by the King's Edict,⁵ and the outrage expressed towards me by the entire Court, the overturning of my fortunes has been so complete and so sudden, that it is clearly all over for me and my family, unless the utterly justified anger of your most illustrious Chancellor soon gives way to his mercy. And I do not see how that can come about, unless you and your excellent patron,⁶ and his Highness Prince Rupert,⁷ and the most noble Sir Robert Moray,⁸ and others whom I praised in that unfortunate little book, deign to intercede on my behalf. So I urge you to use all your skill, and the patronage which you can call on among important men and leaders

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of society, to come to my aid as soon as possible. For if that eminent man allows himself to be won over, and grants me a pardon, I shall be able to use that as a sufficient proof that he does favour the Muses, since the Muses enrolled me in the Royal Society of London,⁹ and have been kind to me so far. I can certainly boast that countless good and learned men have grieved over my misfortune, so that it will not be to the discredit of the most illustrious Lord Chancellor if he returns me safe and sound to the world of books and men of letters.

I have not stopped writing to our friend Blaeu,¹⁰ however, telling him to show a little more diligence in printing your works; but I shall not be responsible for ensuring that your wishes are fulfilled.¹¹ I decided not to send your skirmish with René-François de Sluse about the duplication of the cube to the most learned Senator Fermat⁽¹²⁾ until I had a copy of those pieces which, according to your last letters, are now going to press.¹³ In the midst of my grief and lamentation I can say no more about my plans; only the remembrance of your friendship comforts me in my sorrows. Live, wisest Sir, and fare well, and spend the rest of your life happily with your patron, remembering our friendship.

Nantes, 23 August 1664

[*postscript*:] When that illustrious knight de Grammont¹⁴ returned to us he took it upon himself to ask for pardon for my fault. Please see if you can raise similar forces in my defence. I would have written to his Highness Prince Rupert, but I am awaiting some letters of recommendation from his sister the Abbess,¹⁵ who is very well disposed towards me. You should still send your letters to the same address in Paris, for my house there is still open to those friends and Muses who go to visit my friend M. Maury,¹⁶ who is staying there. Farewell again.

NOTES

¹ The *Relation d'un voyage* (see Letters 159 n. 4, and 166). For the reaction to Sorbière's book, see the Biographical Register.

² This probably refers to John Evelyn, *A Character of England* (1659), a satirical account of boorish English manners and customs, written as if by a Frenchman visiting England for the first time. The similarity of purpose with Evelyn's work was not detected, however, by Evelyn himself, who on 31 Oct. [/10 Nov.] 1664 wrote to encourage Thomas Sprat to publish a reply to Sorbière's book, denouncing Sorbière's 'vnworthy & malicious imputations of Lascheté & bassesse [cowardice and low behaviour] in y^e Nation', and commenting: 'those who better know whose principles this Mushrom is addicted to [*marginal note*: M:^r Hobbes] must needes suspect his integrity' (OCC, Evelyn correspondence, 'Epistolarium liber III', letter 220).

³ inficias *MS*.

⁴ Sorbière had described the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, as 'understanding the formalities of the legal system, but having little understanding of other things, and no knowledge of literature' ('entendant les formalitez de la Justice; mais peu les autres choses, & ignorant des belles lettres' (*Relation d'un voyage*, p. 125)).

⁵ By a decree of the Conseil d'État of [29 June/] 9 July 1664, Sorbière's book was banned and he was exiled to lower Brittany.

⁶ The third Earl of Devonshire.

⁷ Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1619–82), third son of Frederick, the Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia. A cavalry leader and naval commander during the civil war, he was naturalized as an Englishman in 1644.

⁸ On Moray see Letter 149 n. 14. Sorbière had described the kindness of 'this wise Scotsman' ('ce sage Escossois'), in showing him his telescopes and introducing him to Prince Rupert, the King, and the Royal Society (*Relation d'un voyage*, pp. 74–6).

⁹ Sorbière was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on 22 June [/2 July] 1664.

¹⁰ Johan Blaeu.

¹¹ A 'non' ('not') may have been omitted from this clause, which should perhaps mean: 'and it will not be my fault if your wishes are not fulfilled'.

¹² *Frematium MS*. On Fermat see Letter 67 n. 8.

¹³ For Sorbière's plan to enlist Fermat as an adjudicator between Hobbes and de Sluse, see Letter 165. The letter from Hobbes referred to here has not apparently survived.

¹⁴ Philibert de Grammont (1621–1707), a French courtier, was exiled to England in 1662 for his persistent attentions to one of Louis XIV's mistresses. He returned to France in Oct. 1664, but frequently revisited England.

¹⁵ Princess Louise Hollandine (1622–1710) joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1657 and became Abbess of the convent of Maubuisson, near Pontoise.

¹⁶ Jean Maury, a neo-Latin poet, was best known for his adaptation of Ecclesiastes in Latin verse, *Theatrum universae vanitatis* (1646). For letters to him from Sorbière, see BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 309–314^r, 475.



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LETTER 170 [19/] 29 AUGUST 1664 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS , FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 63 (original).

First enclosure (du Verdus to Capell): Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 62 (original).

Second enclosure ('Iride Innamorate de Fenice'): Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 84 (original).

Monsieur

votre lettre de Latimer du 28^e du passé¹ m'a comblé de joye: J'y ay trouvé ce caractère galand qu'on ne sçauroit guere avoyr que quand on est en santé, et qu'on a toutes choses a souhait. Dieu soit loué que vous soyés en cet etat; et vous y veuille maintenir. En verité je vous desire plus de bien qu'a moy mesme. Ce n'est pas Compliment et rien plus: Je vous assure c'est de Coeur, Cependant pour vous dire de votre lettre je n'y trouve pas tout ce a quoy je m'atandois. Je vous avois demandé en quels termes vous estes a la Cour, en quel état vos autres affaires, et vos

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Etudes. C'est une délicatesse en Amitié (si j'ose me servir de ce terme là) de sçavoyr ce qui importe a nos amis plutot d'eus mesme que d'autre; et j'ay cette delicatesse pour vous plus que pour persone du monde; ou plutot je l'ay pour vous seul. dites le moy donc je vous prie a votre première comodité. Je me suis étoné long tems que votre Roy (vn si grand Prince et si habile Politique) vous laissât là sans vous doner des marques singulières de son Estime vous que tous [les Roys *deleted* > Souverains] de toutes la Terre avoient interet de combler de bien faits après le service que vous leur avés rendu d'avoir ainsi démontré l'obeissance qu'on leur doit Et je m'atandois toujours que tot ou tard SM donât cet exemple aus autres

de cette estime pour vous J'ay esté ravy d'apprendre que je ne m'étois point trompé Mais j'eusse voulu l'apprendre de vous Et le passé ne pouvant se rapeler J'en voudrois de vous aumoins la confirmation et quelque chose du detail. M^r Blaeud² m'écrivit d'Amsterdam il y a 5 ou 6 mois qu'il imprimoit toutes vos Oeuvres: mais depuis il ne m'en dit mot pourtant il me les a promises; et me les envoyra je croy. Je ne sçay si c'est luy aussi a qui je m'adresseray pour la petite verssion que j'ay dessein de vous dédier³ Car je suis fort asseuré que son Correspondant M^r Oyens⁴ m'a suprimé deus paquets que je luy avois donés pour luy; et quant aus Imprimeurs de Paris eus et les gens a qui je m'etois adressé me trompèrent quand je publiay cette partie de ma verssion de vos Elemens de la Politique⁵ sans compter qu'ils me la firent payer vint pistoles (Eus qui achètent des autres) ils m'y firent presque autant de fautes contre l'ortographe d'apresant qu'ils y imprimerent de lignes. Si M^r Capel⁶ estoit un peu plus de loisir ou M^r Toriani⁷ son beau frere je les employerois a cette Edition là. Mais rien ne nous presse encore Et toute fois je seray bien aise qu'a votre première veüe vous en disiez deus mots à M^r Capel. voylà aussi un petit billet pour retirer de luy quelques papiers a moy: J'ayme mieus que ce soit vous Monsieur qui les gardiez et je vous en prie vn jour je vous diray pour quoy et je vous diray aussi pourquoy ce certain écrit que j'ajoute au piè de cette lettre icy ayant pour Titre (A mettre au pié de mon factum.).

Au reste Monsieur voylà cette certaine Iris cette espece d'operetta que vous voulés donc avoyr. Je reçeu Mardy dernier votre lettre qui me la demande et je vous l'envoye aujourduy qui est Vendredy c'est a dire sans perdre tems a la premiere occasion. Je feray toujours tout a fait avec joye tout ce que vous voudrés de moy qui sera en mon pouvoir. Et toute fois a vray dire cet écrit n'en valoit pas trop la peine. Ce n'est pas fausse modestie: Nec te collaudes nec te culpaveris ipse:⁸ Ce n'est point cela: je sçay le bien qu'il y a et le mal Le Caractère en est aisé et Naturel

.....
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[c'est *deleted* > tel que d'] une simple Relation voylà le bien: Mais il n'y a rien ni de grand et Heroique, ni de tendre et passioné: voylà le mal: Ou plutot ce le seroit si je leusse fait pour autres fins que pour plaire a ces deus femmes. Vous vous étonés que j'écrive en Italien avec tant de facilité Mais vous ne scaviez donc pas Qu'a l'age de vint ans j'aypris cette langue dans les Poetes et fus en suite deus ans à Rome voyr mourir Urbain 8^e et créer Innocent X.⁹ Ce fut là mon habitude avec le Chevalier d'Igby Ce Juif errant qui ne m'ecrit plus, Cependant il y a dequoy s'etoner que j'aye écrit ce feuillet là avec cette facilité Mais l'etonnement ne peut estre que pour moy Car les autres ne sçavent pas comme moy a quel point j'avois perdu la memoire et que tout a coup elle me revint. J'ay pu vous écrire souvant qu'on m'avoit empoisoné deus fois le tout pour m'affoiblir l'esprit et me reduire a ce traité sous pension (qu'ils vouloient tant) de tous mes droits et vous avés pu scavoyr que du dernier empoisonement je fus onze mois tout entiers tout perclus de tout mon Corps, Mais peut

estre ne vous avois je pas écrit que cela m'ota la Memoyre que je n'en avois plus du tout
Ni de Paris, de Rome, de la langue Italiene de l'espagnole, ni des choses de Mathematique
dont je n'avois que peu d'idées tres confuses Et cepandant quand l'une de ces femes voulut
cela de moy (quoy que je ne l'aymasse pas d'un de tels grans Amours ou lon s'abandone
absolument et ou lon est capable de tout) il ne m'en couta que deus jours de Lecture du
Pastor fido¹⁰ et dans trois aprédinées j'achevay ces 5 ou 6 cens vers qu'elles les eurent le
6^{eme} jour; Mais a quoy dire cela On ne void que trop que cela est fait a la hate. dites m'en
pourtant je vous prie votre sentiment en peu mais surtout croyés moy de tout mon coeur

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus.

A Bordeaux le 29^e Aout 1664

[*postscript:*]

A Mettre au pié de mon factum.¹¹

Il est fort vray qu'on m'a fait tous les maus dont je me suis plaint: mais il n'est pas vray que
ce n'ait esté qu'intrigue de ces Messieurs de Sabourin.¹² A la vérité on me brouilla avec eus
Ils me pousserent en suite et je m'en plaignis comme on void. Mais tout ce qu'on m'a fait
depuis m'a fait voyr enfin que cela venoit d'ailleurs. Décrié icy par faux bruits de mes biens
substitués de Donations faites, d'une Religieuse séculière, d'homme obéré sans conscience:
harcelé par menaces d'enlevement

.....
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de ma persone et d'assassinat; poussé par poursuites en décret de biens; souffrant denys
de justice évasions, infidelités¹³ Cinq ans avec un seul habit trois ans au pain et a l'eau;
empoisoné deus fois; perclus onze mois de tout mon corps toujours seul et sans secours et
tenant bon sans perdre coeur. Je perdis mes foins encore cette année là. Et mes vins l'année
d'après; je fus condamné au Conseil exécuté par Malbec¹⁴ et contraint a faire a Louzcau¹⁵ un
Contract de mil écus. Tout cela n'est rien: Mais cherchant à m'en sauver et pour cela mesme
cherchant a me retirer Et (ce qui est bien autre chose) épris tout ce qu'on peut l'estre Ce
qu'on m'y traverssa me fit sentir la Puissance la plus grande et la plus cachée qu'il y ait dans
l'etat: Je dis un mot de ces Messieurs dans l'article 66^{eme} de ce factum et dans l'article 54^{eme}
de ma Relation d'affaires. Qui pensera à toutes les gens qu'on m'a tournés contre verra bien
que c'est là la main d'où me sont venus tant de coups: et qui pensera aussi combien en peu
de tems ils se sont randu puissans aura peut être de grans soupçons qu'ils n'en sont pas
venus là par marchés tous de gré a gré Leur premier grand interet contre moy fut de m'oter
hors de pouvoir de leur faire lascher prise de ce fief qu'ils m'ont vsurpé; le second que tot ou

tard j'achevasse d'estre leur proye par Traités sous pension. De là vint le Testament de feu ma soeur de ferron¹⁶ et celui de ma Tutrice; De là le Tuteur apuyé et le reste des hostilités. Pour cela ils me pousoient a Bourdeaus et me faisoient apeler ailleurs et c'est pour cela qu'on m'a proposé si souvent de Traiter de tous mes droits. Je pourrois dire sur le tout de leur haine personelle pour leur coup manqué sur moy: mais il faut estre Crétien et doner son ressentiment à Dieu. Ce donc que j'en écris icy est pour la décharge des autres Et s'ils viennent a le sçavoir C'est pour les avertir eus que peut estre seroit il bon de s'arrêter aumoins un peu; et peut être meilleur encore de faire enfin avec moy une bonne et seure paix.

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] Mon.^r du Verdus. Aug. 29th 1664



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François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 170 [19/] 29 August 1664 François du Verdus to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (19 August 1664 - 29 August 1664): Enclosure to Letter 170 letter from François du Verdus to John Baptist Capell

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[*enclosed:*]

[18/] 28 AUGUST 1664

François du Verdus to John Baptist Capell, from Bordeaux

Monsieur

Nous Nous sommes écrit l'un l'autre a diverses fois par autre voye; Et Nous écrivons que je croy: Nous Nous sommes fait force Amitiés; Et

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nous en ferons que je croy aussi C'est a dire vous a moy force faveurs; Et que moy j'aurais toujours le mesme estime, la mesme tendresse pour vous et pour toute votre aymable famille. Sans Compliment donc cette fois icy. C'est pour vous prier de deus choses, La Première de dire à M^r Hobbes en confidence tout ce que vous scavés de plus particulier de Ma vie et de mes affaires Et sur sa parole qu'il n'en usera que come je voudray Car enfin je ne voudrais pour quoy que ce soit au monde qu'autre persone le sceut que luy, La seconde de chercher parmy vos papiers et Livres Vous y trouverrés un Exemplaire de ma version de sa Politique où est au pié une de mes Relations d'affaires et un factum J'épris la liberté de vous le doner Et vous me fites lhonneur de l'accepter et l'avoyr agréable vous le redemander absolument seroit incivilité Mais je vous prie de me le preter pour un tems Et pour cela de le mettre entre les mains de M^r Hobbes qui en fera ce dont je le prieray un de ces jours. Ce Livre est parmy ceus que M^r Kerby¹⁷ vous renvoya d'icy. Puis parmy vos papiers vous trouverés vne lettre que j'écrivois au Roy (a Notre Roy cur ce certain Office de Conseiller de feu mon Père¹⁸ qui vacquoit alors aus parties Casueles) [une *deleted*] les Copies de deus de mes lettres à M^r Bourdelot Abbé de Massay¹⁹ et une des sienes en Original touchant cette

miene lettre au Roy Vne lettre de moy à M^r Hobbes ou [sont *deleted*] est la relation en peu de mes principaus griefs reçeus de mes plus grands Enemis. Je vous envoyay tout cela moy mesme a diverses fois en gros pacquets à votre autre Voyage a Londres. Je vous prie ces lettres là que je viens de dire remettés les aussi à M^r Hobbes:²⁰ Et enfin Je vous prie faites luy voyr l'original d'une lettre a moy de M^r Bourdelot d'un Tabernacle veu en songe Et cette lettre là après que M^r Hobbes me l'aura leüe, je vous prie renvoyés la moy (par M^r Kerby ou de droiture) Car Elle me fait tout a fait besoin. Je suis Je vous assure du bon du Coeur

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur du verdus

Bordeaus Aout 28^e 1664

[*addressed:*] A Monsieur

Monsieur Capel A Londres

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] Mons.^r du Verdus No. 28th. [1674 *altered to* 1664]



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François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 170 [19/] 29 August 1664 François du Verdus to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (19 August 1664 - 29 August 1664): Enclosure to Letter 170 Iride innamorata de Fenice Ragguaglio

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[also enclosed:]

Iride Innamorata de Fenice

Ragguaglio

del Signore francesco du Verdus Cavalier francese Academico Humorista detto Il Bell' humore.

Gran Maraviglia in Terra è la fenice:
se pur (come Altri dice)
qualhor' è carca d'anni,
per cavarli d'affanni,
fatto mucchio d'un nido, aura da' vanni,
del Sol s'abbraggia, e poi resorge a' rai,
ringiovenita, e lieta più che mai.
Gran Maraviglia in Cielo è la Bell' Iri.
Non è chi non ammiri
che da' strali del Sol ferita anch' Ella,
si mostri poi sì bella;
e quei dardi infuocati, accolti in seno,
trasformi in un baleno
di sì vaghi colori.
Giuochi però son questi
e scherzi di Natura:
Mà sentite d'amor giouchi più belli;
Scherzi molto più degni.

Ascoltate gli Amori
d'altra Iri, assai piu vaga
di quella che nel Cielo il mondo ammira:
sentite la ventura
di fenice fra noi
più fortunata assai
di quella de' Poeti, ò finta, o véra.

Iri che con lo sguardo
fa penétrar ne' cuori
d'Amore acuti dardi;
Che sol con la favella
risveglierà favilla,
che fuoco appicci poi gagliardo, e fiéro:
Iride vagheggiata
dà numeroso stuol di degni amanti,
si fedeli, e costanti:
(mà pur' in darno: e ben si sà da vero
che fin quì veruno mai

.....
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d'haverli tocco 'l cuore
non hà havuto il vanto.)
Si trova pur al fin ferita anch' ella:
e ferita si bella,
(Chi il créderebbe mai?)
glie-l'hà fatta fenice.
Perche ancor che fenice
d'altre ferite assai
habbi fatte ne' cuori,
et ogni di ne faccia:
(Ch' essa pur' hà begli occhi, e bionda treccia;
e viso pien di vezzi;
e maniere gentili, e pellegrine;
e lo 'ngegno d'ogni altro
più cupo assai, più scaltro:)
parò quegli altri Amori,
tutti quegli altri Cuori,
son nulla appo l'Amor, appo il Cuor d'Iri.

L'hà dunque volnerata;

e di piaga d'Amor piagato 'l Cuore
che rifiutava Amore.
Quel Cuor, già ghiaccio, e marmo,
quel duro diamante,
è divenuto Amante;
Arde quel Cuore homai;
e tutto fiamma, e fuoco,
altro ch'Amor non sente;
ad altro non si gira;
per Altri non sospira
che per chi lo ferì; Che per fénice
altro non può giovarli; altro non piace.

La vede: Ecco ne gl'occhi
un certo lampeggiar, che di bal'no in Ciel puro e seréno
mai lo strale parti si ratto, e vivo.
Eccoli su'l bel viso
correr del sangue in fretta i vivi spirti;
e pingerlo d'un rosso:
che di vermiglia rosa
il purpureo color men bello sia:
perche vien l'alma incontro
al suo gradito ben, all'Alma sua.

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Ecco un mirar poi fisso:
che la béve con gl' occhi; e la divora.

Parla fenice, o canta:
(che 'l cantar i martiri
di chi per lei sospiri
li vien di perta, e gioia)
alhor si che vedresti
dà quella (hà troppo bella!) Amata bocca
Iri tutta pendente:
che pur minimo accento
alla volta li dà gioia, e tormento.
Gioia: per quei pensieri
si vaghi, e pellegrini;
per quel parlar facondo;
par quel favellar dolce, e lusinghiéro:

Che 'l veder tante gratie in cosa Amata
è gioia, e cosa grata:
Mà pur anche è tormento:
che quell'aura soäve
nell'uscir dalla bocca, entra nel Cuore:
e qui vi non aura è più
che n'attempi l'ardore:
mà ben gagliardo vento,
da rauvivar la fiamma,
e far fuoco d'amor più forte, e fiero.

Viene a ballar fenice;
piglia ghitarra in man; Teorbo, o liuto:
O quanto ad Iri piace!
quel ballar, quel sonar, quel diportarsi!
O che gratia ne gli atti!
come allégra li par! quant' è vezzosa,
e lieta, e baldanzosa!

Qual fingono i Poeti
che si mostri l'Aurora
nel spuntar d'un bel giorno,
che tutta fà d'intorno
la Terra vaga e lieta, il Cielo adorno:
Qual Diana ne i boschi:
Non già quando le fére
l'arco in man segue, e fére:
(ch'allor' è cruda troppo e féra in viso:)
Mà quando per diporto

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con le sue belle Ninfe
Mena balli, e carole:
O pur quale han dipinta
alle Cariti in mezo
la bella Dea di Cipri²¹
passar in feste e giuochi
di fortunati di vita beata;
a far nascer pur sempre
di nuovi, e nuovi Amori:
Tale o più vaga ancor li par si mostri

la sua bella fenice:
e tutte radunando
le gratie, le bellezze,
di che hà sentito mai,
tutte le trova in lei.
Dunque di tal'oggetto
si pien di Meraviglie
piena havendo la mente,
e posseduto 'l Cuore,
lo vegga, o non lo vegga,
sempre con seco l'ha; sempre vi pensa;
ne mai il vago pensier altrove volge.

Gira del Cielo intorno
la machina stupenda, ampia, et immensa;
e girando, con seco
tutti trasporta pur gli Orbi, e le sfère
delli stellanti globi, e de' Pianeti.
Nel passar dall'Eöe²²
alle rive dell'Ébro,²³
l'Astro del giorno a noi la luce invola:
Che renitente al moto, e contumace,
stà pur salda la Terra;
e'l Ciel d'intorno a se lascia che passi.
O pur (Come Altri hà detto:)
(già al'incrédibil sia,
che tal Pelago immenso, indéfinito,
e de i fuochi Celesti
per entro nel profondo in esso sparsi,
(vasti pur, et enormi,
et altrettanti Soli,)
l'innnumerabil schiera
intorno ad un sol punto,
et in sì breve tempo,

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di tal moto si muova:)
Il Sol è ch'è nel Centro
del sistema de i Corpi intorno a lui:
e (come ogni altra fissa)

Ei si muove in se stesso; e dà la mossa
dell'aria all'ampio mar di cui vien cinto:
(ch'il Sol altro non è che fiamma e fuoco.)
Indi portati in volta
in quel Pelago d'aria i Globi immersi:
v'è pur la Terra anch' Ella;
e segue del Torrente il ratto corso:
Mà si volge in se stessa:
perche dall'Ebro all'Indo
hà tirate di rocche alpestri, et alte:
ch'incontrandole il mosso ampio Torrente,
pur di quel raggirar li diede il moto;
o, che dal fuoco interno
fin dal Principio l'habbi, e lo ritenga.
Gira dunque la Terra;
E quanto di se prima al Sol volgea,
nel buio immerge poi dell'ombra sua:
Cost gode a vicenda
ogni patte di lei
hor'al Sole il calor, la luce, il moto;
hor'il riposo all'ombra.

Ecco venuto 'l tempo
di goder quel riposo,
dorme l'augello in nido;
la fera per li boschi; in mar il pesce:
perche à tenerli desti
si vorrebbe del Sole il vivo fuoco.
Dormon per le Campagne
i Pastori, i Bifolchi:
tutta per la Città la Plebe dorme,
del faticar del giorno horamai stanchi.
Dorme pur alla Corte
Chi del nostro riposo hà sempre cura;
chi fà di grandi Imprése, e viene à capo;
l'Eröe de' di nostri, Il Gran Luigi:
perche il tener in mano
di gran Regno il temone,
e reggerne la mole,
è fatica d'ogni altra

(come ch'importi più) più grande assai.
 In Cielo, in Terra, in Mar, dorme ogni cosa:
 La Bell'Iri non dorme;
 che fuoco sente in sen; ne li rien sonno;
 ne di pensar si stracca
 alla sua (che tanto ama) Alma fenice.
 fuoco è pero che giovì
 quel che si sente in seno:
 lieti sono i pensieri
 che volge per la mente:
 perche di gelosia,
 di sdegno, di furor, o d'altra via
 amorosa follia,
 pericolo non è ch'il mal li venga:
 ch'ama ben dadovero;
 e la persona amata
 ama, più di se stessa;
 e si rallegra assai
 nel veder che la servi
 schiera di degni Amanti;
 c lo vorrebbe pur di tutto 'l Mondo,
 E questo è quanto pensa,
 mentre vinta dal sonno
 ogni persona in Terra
 ogni Cura hà déposta, ogni pensiéro,

Và pur al fin al letto;
 e le candide membra ivi posando
 sù la morbida man la guancia appoggia:
 (guancia fiorita, e bella,
 che pur fiorita resta, e colorita;
 ne si ritira in dentro
 il purpureo color di cui vien tinta.)
 delle palpébre poi
 fà vélo a' due begli occhi:
 che chi felice fosse
 da vederla in tal atto,
 e farsi presso a dei,
 dà sentir come n'esce aura soave,
 potrebbe dir ch'il sonno

vinta l'havesse anch'essa:
se cosa dir potesse:
che pien di meraviglia,
e di dolce stupor, nulla direbbe.

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Pur vien al fin del Sonno Il fosco Dio;
e con l'ambe humide ali
fù quai begli occhi chiusi
batte, e ribatte sì, che l'addormenta.
Ecco che la Bell' Iri
dorme pur alfin lei;
a pur ne dormon gl'occhi;
che'l Cuor hà sempre desto; il Cuor non dorme;
ma pensa di fenice;
e'n quel dolce pensier tutto s'interna.

Pur batte sempre Il Dio:
non già che facci a gara, e vincer voglia:
Mà ben che di servirla
hà gusto, e si diletta:
che sapendo che gioia,
che diletto li sia
il veder la sua bella,
la sua cara fenice:
di mostrargliela in sogno
hà già fatto disegno.

Lo fà dunque il Gran Mago;
E coll'innocue sue, dolci malie,
Nuvolo dolce, e fresco,
di soavi vapori
del più e più lieto
ch'habbi il vivo bel sangue
della Bella che dorme, in un raduna;
e ne fà viva Imago,
ch'assomigli a fenice:
mà viva sì: che par che dessa sia.
La vede la Bell'Iri;

La vede? anzi la sente
ch'è nell'istesso letto;
che già la tien' in braccio; e li dà un bacio.

Lieta di tal ventura:
Mà lieta anzi che nò: fuor di se tutta:
l'abbraccia pur anch' Essa;
e con bacio l'accoglie
saporito, amoroso;
e li dice, Ben mio
è vero ch'io vi vegga?
ch'a voi pensavo anch' lo?

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E come il Dio pietoso
che nulla vuol che manchi a si bel sogno
fà della vaga Imago:
li par che la favelli;
e che dalla sua bella Amata bocca
esca dolce risposta. Anima mia
vero èben sì; ver' è; che cert' lo v'amo
Non solo più d'ogni altra,
mà più della mia vita:
v'amo di tutto 'l Cuor; altro non Amo;
e v'amerò pur sempre.

Sentita la si dolce,
la si grata risposta,
l'abbraccia pur di nuovo; e li dà baci
avidi, divoranti, a mille, a mille.
Poi se la reca in grembo;
e con ambe le braccia
su'l bel petto la strigne;
Mà strigne forte sì: che par che voglia
entrino l'un nell'altro
gli Amanti Amati Cuori;
e de i due un sol si faccia.

O chi potesse dir, chi pur pensasse
che guste, che diletto,
nel succhiar delle labbra

delle due bocche vnite,
e bacianti, e bacciate!
nel farsi vezzi a gara ambe le lingue!
e dir Ambe in un tempo: Anima mia!
Cuor Caro! vita mia! Cuor mio! Ben Mio!
Chi direbbe la gioia
nel strignersi i bei petti,
nell'incontrarsi i Cuori: che par vero
tutta l'alma dall'un neli'altro passi;
e anhelante, e smarrita, e che vien meno,
si perda alfin, e péra, Ô Cosa dolce!
Questo non si può dir: Che pur no 'l pensa
chi non l'habbi provato;
e chi provato l'habbi, a pena il dira.

Corre dal Capo a i piedi
alla Bella in tal sogno
certa aura di piacer, e certo fuoco

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fuoco ben si puô dir: ch'è si vivace;
aura, che tanto piace;
e le morbide membra addormentate
scuote sì, e fà tremar, che la Bell' Iri
si rissente, e si desta;
mà si desta, ch'a pena
può dir che desta sia:
non sà s'è sogno, o vero:
che pur la bella Imago
li par d'haverla ancora, e d'abbracciarla.
Pur alfin desta affatto
da persona divota
rende gratte del Cielo al sommo Iddio
della passata notte;
e lo prega ch'il giorno
in suo servizio passi.

Mà non fà già tal vita
che no'l sappi fenice:
Dà lei ne vâ per tempo; e glie lo dice;
e da capo li conta il lieto sogno.

Poi sopra di se un tempo,
come che in dubio resti
se segua, o pur si fermi:
pur alfin si risolve;
e fissati i begli occhi
sù gli occhi di fenice:
la sua si vaga bocca,
che tutti ivi vedresti
con le Gratie, gli Amori,
apre di nuovo in tai dolci parole.

Mensogne sono i sogni:
e mensogna ben fù, ch'a mio bel agio
v'havessi, e vi tenessi,
e sentissi da voi dolei parole,
e mi faceste pur carezze, e vezzi:
Mà ch'lo di tutto 'l Cuore
più di me stessa v'ami
mensogna già non è; Che ben è véro;
E ben creder si puole; e m'assicuro
lo crederete voi;
ch'altro non vi sia d'vopo,
che'l pensar da per voi, qual séte in viso,

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qual'in manière, et atti:
Ch'a tanti e si gran pregi
Cuor non ci sarà mai che non si renda:
e vi si rende il mio;
et è vostro; e ve'l dono;
e ch'a grado vi sia
tutt'è quant'lo disio.

Si dice: e nel fornir abbassa gli occhi;
e cangiandosi in viso,
di modesto rossor tutta si tigne:
Non che nel Cuor si senta
poco puri i désiri, e se n' vergogni:
Che ben caste hà le voglie et innocenti.
O che l'essersi prima
dichiarata a fenice

troppo fatto li paia, e n'arrossisca:
Che lo star aspettando
Che prima fenice a lei
Amor pari scoprisse,
Il suo soverchio Amar no'l comportava:
Mà ben ch'è poco auvezza
a sentir di tai cose,
non che a dirle dessa.

O che gioia, e diletto,
alla Bella fenice
nel sentir, nel vedere,
che Cosa a lei si doni
si bella, e si gradita!
Che l'ama pur anch'Essa;
e gran tempo fà l'ma; et l'ama assai;
e ben glie-lo sà dire:
ch'auvintoli il bel collo
com ambe due le braccia,
e la bocca di lei
con la sua bella bocca et amorosa
stretta premendo, e forte,
la bacia avidamente; e vi s'attacca:
che di partirne mai par ch'habbi voglia.
Non parla; Nulla dice;
e pur dice ogni cosa:
che ben è tal silenzio
più d'ogni favellar scaltro, e facendo.

.....
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Tolta al fin per un tempo
la bocea al bacio, et al tacer la lingua,
li fà grata risposta, O Bella mia
se vero è che m'amate,
certo è che v'amo anch'lo
e se pur mi vi date:
a voi mi dono anch' lo; e vostra sono;
e lo sarò pur sempre; E ve lo giaro;
Et Eccovene un segno: E si dicendo

la bacia pur di nuovo; e mille e mille
li fà vezzi, e carezze. E doppo i vezzi
e le carezze stante: Ô (dice ancora)
Gran tempo fà che dell'amarmi voi
accorta m'era; e gran tempo ch'lo v'amo.
che se di certe; mie
bellezze dite, e pregi:
son ben maggiori i vostri; e di gran lunga
quai si voglia beltà la vostra avanza.
Pur nulla ne dicevo;
non sol'ad altri, mà ne anche a voi:
Che'l celar suoi desiri, anche a chi s'ama,
come che Cosa sia
Malagevole assai,
è però di gran pregio,
e degna di costante,
di discreta, reale, e vera Amante.
E ben co'l tempo ancora
vien di maggior contento,
più vivo, più pungente, e che più duri.
E come fuoco in esca
di materia tenace
si vede che si faccia
dov'è celato più, più vivo, e fiero;
e che'n fiamma avampi maggiore assai,
e più bella, e più viva, e di più forza:
Così d'amore il fuoco
appreso in Cuor gentile,
e che celar il sappia,
cose maggiori fà scoperto poi.
Qual rapido Torrente
che racchiuso si trovi
Frà alte argini, e strette,
in se gira; rigira; e bolle; e schiuma;

.....
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e tanto fà: ch'alfin rotte le sponde
scorre per la Campagna;
quanto s'oppone a lui
atterra tutto; e le campagne innonda;
Tale e più fiero Amor, racchiuso in posto

di generosa Amante
che riparo si fe d'atto segréto,
rotto'l silenzio poi
forte si trova sì, e si gagliardo,
ch'ogni ostacolo a lui in van s'opponga;
e d'un Mar di piacer' il petto innonda.
Tal farà l'Amor mio
che racchiuso si tenni, e si segreto:
In van sara che ad Esso Alcu s'opponga:
che vincerà pur sempre;
e vincerà per voi.
forza havrà di Torrente;
e questo havrà di più, che sarà Eterno,
son fedéle, e costante; e ve'l prometto.
Mà a che perder parole?
Andiamne al Tempio, ad adorar il Dio,
a venerer la Madre
della bella Amicitia:
che ben di saggio Amor hà cura Il Nume,
che tutto per Amor hà fatto il Mondo.
Andtam mia Cara; Andiamo.

Così dice: e vò vanno;
E l'amicitia lor sincera, e pura,
pregan Il Sommo Iddio
che di propizio sguardo
favorir degni, e far felice, e fausta,
E la preghiera fatta,
Il vicendevol' Irrevocabil patto,
in man di Sacerdote a ciò commesso
giuran sollemnemente;
Et au vinti i due Cuor di sì bel nodo,
s'amano dadovéro;
e ben creder si puole, e vero sia
che s'ameran pur sempre.

O fortunata Coppia! O degni Amanti!
O Iri Bella e vaga
più dell'altra ch'in Ciel il mondo ammira!

Che sol la fere il Sole;
ne dessa altro ci mostra
che colori pur vani, et apparenze:
Mà vi ferè fenice,
che certo è più del Sol e viva, e bella.
Et havendone in sen la viva Imago,
Saggi date d'Amor vero, e reale.

O fénice felice!
più felice per certo
dell'altra de' Poeti o finta, o véra:
Che se fuoco sentite,
è fuoco che vi giovi, e non v'abbruggi;
Che pur senza morir, vi séte data
nel Cuor della Bell'Iri
vn altra vita, e tale;
Che per viver tal vita,
non sia mai che si trovi
chi la propria non desse; e volentieri,
e con tutto l'assetto.

Vivéte pur felici:
Ne siano mai più sogni; vostri Amori,
Amate dadovéro;
e quei puri dilette,
quelle sì grate gioie, et innocenti,
dadovero provando,
fáte sì: che gli Amori Il mondo ammiri
della bella fenice,
della bella Iri.
Il fine.



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Translation of Letter 170

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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Translation of Letter 170

Sir,

Your letter from Latimers of 28 July¹ overwhelmed me with joy: I found in it that jaunty humour which one would scarcely have unless one were in good health, and enjoying everything according to one's wishes. God be praised that you are in that condition; and may he keep you in it. Truly, I wish you more good fortune than I do for myself. And that is no formal compliment—I assure you, it comes from the heart. However, on the subject of your letter, I must say that I do not find everything that I was expecting to find in it. I had asked you what your

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standing was at Court, what state your other affairs were in, and how your studies were. It is one of the scruples of friendship (if I may dare use that term) that we should prefer to hear our friends' news from our friends themselves rather than from anyone else; and I have that scruple where you are concerned, more than with anyone else in the world—or rather, I have it with you alone. So tell me about that, please, at your first convenience, I have long been surprised that your King (who is such a great prince, and so clever a politician) should have left you there without giving you any special marks of his esteem—you who should have been showered with favours by all the sovereigns of the world, after the service which you have done them by so fully demonstrating the obedience which is their due. And I was expecting His Majesty to give an example to the others of that high esteem for you, I was delighted to learn that I had not been mistaken; but I should have liked to learn it from you. And since the past cannot be called back, I should like you at least to confirm that news and give some details of it.

M. Blaeu² wrote to me from Amsterdam five or six months ago, to say that he was printing your complete works; but since then he has not told me anything about it. However, he did promise them to me; and I think he will send them, I do not know whether he is the person I should also apply to in the matter of the little translation which I am planning to dedicate to you.³ For I am quite convinced that his correspondent M. Oyens⁴ has suppressed the two parcels which I gave him to forward to M. Blaeu. And as for the Paris printers, both they and the people I had applied to deceived me when I published that part of my translation of your Elements of Politics⁵—not counting the fact that they made me pay 20 pistoles for it (even though they pay other authors for their works), and made almost as many printing errors as there were lines in the book. If Mr Capell⁶ had a little more leisure, or Mr Torriano,⁷ his brother-in-law, I would make use of them in preparing that edition. But there is no hurry yet. Nevertheless, I should be very glad if you could have a word or two about it with Mr Capell when you next see him. Here is also a short note instructing him to hand over some papers of mine which he has; I should prefer you to keep them, Sir, and beg you to do so. One day, I shall tell you why; and I shall also explain the reason for the document which I add at the end of this letter, entitled 'To be placed at the end of my statement'.

Otherwise, Sir, here is that sort of short work, 'Iris', which you say you want to have. I received your letter asking for it on Tuesday, and

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am sending it to you today, Friday—in other words, at the first opportunity, without losing any time. I shall always be most happy to do whatever you ask of me, if it is in my power. Yet, to tell the truth, this poem was not worth any special effort. That is not false modesty ('neither praise yourself excessively, nor censure yourself'):⁸ it is not that at all. I know what is good about it, and what is bad. The style is light and natural, like that of a simple narrative; that is what is good. But there is nothing great or heroic, or tender or passionate in it: that is what is bad. Or rather, it would be bad, if I had written it for any other purpose except to please those two ladies.

You are surprised that I write so easily in Italian, You did not know, then, that at the age of 20 I learned that language by reading poetry, and later spent two years at Rome, at the time of the death of Urban VIII and the elevation of Innocent X.⁹ It was there that I got to know Sir Kenelm Digby—that wandering Jew who does not write to me any more. However, there was something surprising about the fact that I wrote those pages so easily; but the surprise was for me only. For other people do not know, as I do, just how far I had lost my memory—which then came back to me suddenly. I may often have told you that I had been poisoned twice, in an

attempt to weaken my resolve and reduce me to handing over all my rights for an annuity (as they so strongly wished me to). And you may have known that after the last poisoning my joints seized up throughout my body for eleven months. But perhaps I had not told you that that took my memory away, so that I could no longer remember either Paris or Rome, the Italian language or Spanish, or mathematical matters, of which I retained only some very confused ideas. And yet, when one of those ladies demanded that poem of me (although I did not love her with one of those great passions which inspire one with self-abandon and make one capable of doing anything), I only needed to spend two days reading *Il pastor fido*,¹⁰ and in three evenings I completed those 500 or 600 lines, which I gave to them on the sixth day. But why tell you all that, when it is all too obvious that the thing was written in a hurry? Please tell me briefly, nevertheless, what you think of it. But above all believe me to be, Sir, with all my heart,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdurus

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[postscript:]

*To be placed at the end of my statement*¹¹

It is quite true that all the wrongs of which I have complained have been done to me; but it is not true that this happened only through the plotting of those Sabourins.¹² The truth is that people got me involved with them; they oppressed me thereafter, and I complained about it, as one can see. But everything that has been done to me since then has made me realize that it was instigated elsewhere. Slandered here by false rumours about my property being handed over by deed of gift, about a secular nun, about a man immorally saddled with debts; harassed by threats that I would be seized or assassinated; pursued by legal action for distraint of property; suffering denials of justice, legal quibbles, and breaches of trust;¹³ going for five years with only one suit of clothes, and living for three years on bread and water; poisoned twice; spending eleven months with my joints seized up throughout my body, alone and helpless all that time, and yet keeping up my spirits and not losing heart; I lost my crop of hay again that year, and my wine the following year; I was condemned by the court judgment brought against me by Malbec,¹⁴ and forced to give Louzcau¹⁵ an undertaking to pay 1,000 écus. All that is nothing. But while I was trying to extricate myself from it, and get away from it all, and (which is another matter entirely) while I was as much in love as one can be, the way in which I was thwarted made me feel the presence of the greatest and most secret power that there is in the state. I say a word or two about these gentlemen in Article 66 of this statement, and in Article 54 of my account of my affairs. Anyone who considers all the people who have been turned against me will clearly understand that that is the hand which has struck me so many blows; and anyone who considers how powerful they have made themselves in a short time will strongly suspect, perhaps, that they have not achieved it by dealing with people on terms of mutual agreement. Their first great design against me was to make me incapable of forcing them to let go of that property of mine which they had usurped. Their second concern was that sooner or later I should become their prey, under an agreement for an annuity. That was the reason for the will of my late sister, Mme de Ferron,¹⁶ and that of my lady guardian. That was the reason for my male guardian being imposed on me, and for the rest of those hostile actions. That is why they oppressed me in Bordeaux, and made me appeal elsewhere. And that is why they have so often proposed that I should make an agreement to hand over all my rights. I could also give a full account of their

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personal hatred for me, because of their failed attempt on my life; but one must be Christian and confide one's feelings to God, What I write here, therefore, is for the benefit of others; and if those people come to learn of my writing this, it may be a warning to them that they would do well, perhaps, to pause a little—and would do even better to make a good and lasting peace with me.

NOTES

¹ On Latimers see Letter 144 n. 5. This letter has not apparently survived.

² Probably Johan Blaeu.

³ See Letter 168 n. 11.

⁴ There are three (or possibly four) candidates for identification with this M. Oyens. David Oyens (d. 1680) was a Dutch merchant who settled in Bordeaux and married a Huguenot, Elisabeth Sauvage. He had two (or possibly three) sons, who were also Bordeaux merchants: Daniel and Abraham (according to Landré, 'Les Protestants hollandais à Bordeaux', pp. 270–1), or Daniel and Arnaud (according to Malvezin, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, p. 310). Of these, Daniel was the more prominent; he had been resident in Bordeaux since at least 1651 (Francisque-Michel, *Histoire du commerce*, i, p. 437 n.), and he acquired *lettres de bourgeoisie* in 1659 (le Vacher de Boisvillie (ed.), *Livre des bourgeois*, sect. 1, p. 116). In 1662 he was imprisoned by the city magistrates for defying a ban on trading in spirits (Francisque-Michel, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, p. 225 n.). All surviving members of David Oyens's family fled to Amsterdam after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (Landré, 'Les Protestants hollandais à Bordeaux', p. 271).

⁵ Du Verdus's translation of *De cive* (the first two parts only) was published as *Les Elemens de la politique* in two editions in 1660, and as *Maximes heroïques* in 1665.

⁶ See Letter 163 n. 1.

⁷ George Torriano (d. 1685), a prominent London merchant, was probably the son or younger brother of Giovanni Torriano, who lodged with him in 1656; Giovanni was described as 'late of the Velteline [sc. Valtelline] in Italy Master of Languages' (BL MS Add, 34015, fo. 7^r). Giovanni had been active as a language teacher in England since at least 1640, when his *Italian Tutor* was published; in the second dedicatory epistle of that work he acknowledged a special connection with the Company of Turkey Merchants (sig. A3^r). George Torriano was active as a merchant by 1656 (BL MS Add, 34015, fo. 7^r); he traded with Venice and Turkey (Roseveare, *Markets and Merchants*, pp. 108, 420), and in 1671 he was a stockholder in the Royal African Company (Woodhead, *Rulers of London*, p. 164). He was a member of the Common Council of the City of London, 1666–7, 1675–80 (*ibid.*, p. 163), and in 1683 was one of the jury at the trial of William Russell for high treason (Whitebrook (ed.), *London Citizens*, p. 36).

⁸ Cato, *Disticha*, 2. 16.

⁹ Urban VIII died on 19/29 July 1644; Innocent X was consecrated Pope on 24 Sept./4 Oct. 1644. For further details of du Verdus's stay in Rome, see the Biographical Register.

¹⁰ The highly popular pastoral tragicomedy, first published in 1585, by Battista Guarini.

¹¹ This statement was apparently a supplement to the account ('Relation') referred to in Letter 89.

¹² See Letter 78 n. 20.

¹³ For the history of these misfortunes see Letter 78.

¹⁴ Unidentified, The Seigneurs de Malbec, a noble family from Périgord (Meller, *Armorial*, iii, p. 7), included a Guiot Malbec and a François Malbec, who became *bourgeois* of Bordeaux in 1642 and 1645 (le Vacher de Boisvilie (ed.), *Livre des bourgeois*, sect. 1, pp. 109, 112). In 1694 an André Malbec was *procureur du roi* at Ambarès (Meller, *État-civil*, p. 250); he was possibly the son of the Malbec referred to here by du Verdus, whose family estates were at Ambarès.

¹⁵ Unidentified. Perhaps 'Lousteau', a more common name in Bordeaux during this period. A Pierre Losteau appears in a list of merchants in Malvezin, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, p. 305; the daughter of a Pierre Lhousteaud, *bourgeois* of Bordeaux and master-surgeon, was married in 1671 (Meller, *État-civil*, p. 250); and a M. Loustau represented the *jurats* (governing magistrates) of Bordeaux at the launch of a ship in 1672 (AMB MS 508, fonds Gaullieur, fo. 11^v).

¹⁶ See Letter 78 n. 5.



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Translation of first enclosure to Letter 170: du Verdus's letter to John Baptist Capell

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

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Translation of first enclosure to Letter 170: du Verdus's letter to John Baptist Capell

Sir,

We have written to each other several times by a different means; and, I believe, we shall continue to write. We have made a firm friendship; and, I believe, we shall continue that too—which is to say that you have done me many favours, and that I shall always have the same high regard, the same affection for you and for all your charming family. So I shall forgo compliments here: this letter is to ask two things of you. My first request is that you tell Mr Hobbes, in confidence, all the most private details of my life and affairs that you know; make him give his word that he will not make any use of this knowledge except in accordance with my wishes, for indeed I would not want anyone to have this knowledge on any account except him. My second request is that you look among your papers and books: you will find there a copy of my translation of his Politics, at the end of which is one of my accounts of my affairs, and a statement. I took the liberty of presenting this to you, and you did me the honour of receiving it and finding it acceptable. To ask you to return it absolutely would be a discourtesy. But I beg you to lend it to me for a while, and for that purpose to deliver it to Mr Hobbes, who one of these days will do with it what I ask him to. This book is one of the ones that Mr Kirby¹⁷ sent you from here. Also, you will find among your papers a letter which I wrote to the King (to our King, about a certain office of *conseiller* which belonged to my late father,¹⁸ and which, being unfilled, could be claimed by the parties to my dispute). You will also find copies of two of my letters to M. Bourdelot, the *abbé* of Massay,¹⁹ and the original copy of one of his letters about that letter of mine to the King. Please send those letters too, the ones I have just mentioned, to Mr Hobbes.²⁰ And finally, please let him see the original of a letter I wrote to M. Bourdelot about a tabernacle which I saw in a dream. And when Mr Hobbes has seen that letter, please return it to me (either via Mr Kirby, or directly), since I

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absolutely need to have it. I am, Sir, I assure you from the goodness of my heart,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
du Verdus

Bordeaux, 28 August 1664

[addressed:] To Mr Capell in London

NOTES

¹⁷ Andrew Kirby, an English merchant resident in Bordeaux (Malvezin, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, p. 310). When Martin Lister travelled to Bordeaux in 1663 he gave directions that his letters should be 'left with M^{ss} Capel & Kerby March[ants] in Bourdeaux', and in 1665 he noted that a bill of £122 was 'returned me from Bordeaux by Kerby' (Bodl. MS Lister 19, fos. 2^r, 7^r). Kirby was still living in Bordeaux in Dec. 1685, when his daughter and Huguenot son-in-law were imprisoned. Appealing to Sir William Trumbull (Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris) for help, he explained that both he and his late wife 'were English and were never naturalized'. In the following month he wrote again, requesting a pass for him and his son to travel to England (HMC, *Downshire*, pp. 76, 99).

¹⁸ Jean du Verdus's office of *conseiller* had been passed to a Jean Dubernet in 1621 (see the entry for du Verdus in the Biographical Register).

¹⁹ See Letter 78 n. 21.

²⁰ None of these documents survives among Hobbes's papers.



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Translation of second enclosure to Letter 170 An account of Iris in love with Phoenix

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Translation of second enclosure to Letter 170 *An account of Iris in love with Phoenix*

By signore François du Verdus, a French nobleman, academic, and humorist (known as 'the man of good humour')

The phoenix is one of the great wonders of the earth:
if (as another author says)
when she is burdened with years,
to escape from her troubles,
having piled up her nest and fanned a breeze with her wings,
she burns herself with the Sun, and then rises up again in its rays,
rejuvenated, and happier than ever before.
The beautiful Iris [i.e. rainbow] is one of the great wonders of the heavens.
There is no one who does not marvel at the fact that,
wounded (she too) by the arrows of the Sun,
she then shows herself to be so beautiful,
and transforms those fiery darts which she has received in her breast,
into a flashing radiance
of such charming colours.
These, however, are the games
and tricks of Nature;
but listen to a story of love's finer games,
and much worthier tricks.
Listen to the story of the loves
of another Iris, a much more charming one
than the one whom the world marvels at in the sky;
listen to what befell
the Phoenix of our times,
a much more fortunate one
than the one (whether fictional or real) described by the poets.

Iris, who with her glance
drives deep into people's hearts
the sharp darts of love,

.....
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and who, merely with her speech,
can revive a spark
which will then catch fire strongly and fiercely:
Iris, who is gazed at longingly
by a whole troop of worthy lovers
who are so loyal and constant
(though in vain: and it is known for a fact
that not a single one of them
has hitherto been able to boast
that he has touched her heart),
now, at last, finds that she too has been wounded by love,
and this wonderful wound
(who would ever have believed it?)

was inflicted on her by Phoenix,
For even though Phoenix
has made plenty of wounds
in other people's hearts,
and still makes them every day
(since she has beautiful eyes, and blonde hair,
and a face full of charms,
and an excellent, gentle manner,
and an intellect much deeper
and more penetrating than any other),
nevertheless those other loves,
all those other hearts,
are nothing to her in comparison with the love and heart of Iris,

So she has injured her,
and wounded her heart with a love-wound,
a heart which used to deny love.
That heart, which was ice and marble before,
that hard diamond,
has started to love;
that heart is now burning,
it is all flame and fire,
it feels nothing except love
and it turns towards nothing else;
it sighs for no one else
except the one who wounded it, except for Phoenix;
no one else can give it happiness or pleasure.

Look at her: there in her eyes
there is a kind of flashing—no rainbow
in a pure and calm sky

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ever fired off its arrows so swiftly or with such vigour.
There, on her beautiful face,
the quickened spirits of her blood rush in haste
and colour her face with a blush,
compared with which the deep red of a vermillion rose
is less beautiful;
for her soul is coming to meet
what it cherishes most, its own soul.
And now she looks at her more intently,
drinking her with her eyes, and devouring her.

When Phoenix speaks or sings
(for singing about the sufferings
of those who sigh for her
gives her both pain and joy)
then you would indeed see
Iris hanging on every word uttered
by that beloved (and oh! too beautiful) mouth:
from which the slightest sound
gives her joy and torment at the same time.
Joy, because of those thoughts she expresses,
so fine and charming,
because of her flowing speech,
because of her sweet and flattering way of talking:
for to observe so many graces in the person one loves
is a joy, and a source of pleasure.
But it is also a torment,
because that sweet breeze
which leaves her mouth, enters the heart:
and there it is no longer a breeze,
which might cool one's ardour,
but a powerful wind
to revive the flame

and make the fire of love stronger and fiercer.

Phoenix starts to dance;
she takes a guitar in her hand, or a theorbo, or a lute;
what pleasure Iris receives
from that dancing, or playing, or amusement!
What grace there is in her movements!
How high-spirited she seems to her, how charming,
how happy, how self-assured!

Just as in the poets' description
of Dawn revealing herself

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at the start of a fine day,
when all around her she makes
the Earth charming and happy, and the sky beautiful;
just like Diana in the woods,
not when she is pursuing the beasts
with her bow in her hand, and wounding them
(for then her looks are too harsh and fierce)
but when, to amuse herself
with her beautiful nymphs,
she leads dances and songs;
or rather just as the poets have described
the beautiful Goddess of Cyprus²¹
in the midst of her Graces,
enjoying the life of the blessed,
spent in celebrations and games,
giving rise over and over again
to newer and newer loves:
such, or even more charming, is how
her beautiful Phoenix seems to her;
and, putting together all the graces, the beauties
of which she has ever heard,
she finds them all in her.
So, with her mind filled
with such an object of thought,
so full of marvels,
and with her heart possessed by it,
she sees it, and does not see it,
has it with her always, thinks of it always,
and her wandering thoughts cannot turn to anything else.

Around the heavens there moves
the stupendous, vast, and immense machine;
and, as it moves, it carries with it
everything—the orbs and spheres
of the starry globes and the planets.

Passing from Eos²²
to the banks of the Ebro,²³
the day-star sends us its light;
for, refusing to move, and contumacious,
the Earth stands still,
and lets the heavens revolve around her.
Or rather (as others have said)
since it is incredible
that such an immense, unbounded sea,

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with the heavenly fires
scattered throughout its depths
—vast, enormous,

like so many suns—
 incredible that such an innumerable host
 should move, with such motion,
 around a single point,
 and in such a short time,
 it is the Sun which is at the centre
 of the system of bodies which surrounds it.
 And, like every fixed star,
 it moves within itself, and gives motion
 to the air of the vast sea which surrounds it
 (for the Sun consists of nothing but flame and fire);
 by that motion the immense globes of the planets
 are carried round, in that sea of air,
 and the Earth is carried too,
 following the swift flight of the rushing stream.
 But the Earth also turns on herself:
 for, from the Ebro to the Indus,
 she has drawn up high, mountainous crags,
 and when the vast, rushing stream strikes them,
 it gives the Earth that revolving motion.
 Or else the Earth gets it from her own internal fire,
 and has had it from the beginning, and retains it.
 So the Earth revolves:
 and that part of her which she first turns towards the Sun,
 she then plunges into the darkness of her own shadow.
 And so in turn
 every part of her enjoys
 first the Sun's heat, light, and motion,
 and then the night's repose.

And now the time has come
 to enjoy that repose.
 The bird sleeps in the nest,
 the wild beast in the woods, the fish in the sea;
 because to keep them wide awake
 they need the living fire of the Sun.
 In the countryside
 the shepherds and ploughmen are sleeping;
 throughout the city the people are sleeping,
 tired out now by the day's toil.
 At Court, even he is sleeping,

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who always has charge of our repose,
 he who undertakes great tasks, and brings them to fruition,
 the hero of our epoch, Louis the Great;
 for holding in one's hand
 the great rudder of a great kingdom,
 and governing its vast mass,
 is a task much, much greater
 (since it is of greater importance) than any other.
 In the Heavens, on the Earth, in the sea, everything is asleep;
 but the beautiful Iris does not sleep:
 for she feels fire in her breast; and sleep does not come to her;
 nor does she tire of thinking
 of her own dearest Phoenix, whom she loves so much.
 But the fire which she feels in her breast
 is a fire that brings pleasure,
 and they are happy thoughts
 that run through her mind,
 because she is in no danger of suffering the ills
 of jealousy,
 scorn, fury, or any other kind
 of lover's madness;
 for she loves very sincerely,
 and she loves her beloved
 more than herself;

and she is very happy
to see that she is served
by a host of worthy lovers,
and she would want it so, more than anything in the world.
That is what she is thinking,
while, overcome by sleep,
everyone in the world
has laid down every care and every thought.

She too goes to bed at last;
and, laying her white limbs upon it,
she rests her cheek on her soft hand
(a cheek of rosy beauty,
which remains rosy and keeps its colour
and does not withdraw
the deep red hue with which it is tinged).
Then her eyelids veil
her two beautiful eyes,
so that anyone who had the good fortune
to see her at this point,

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and come close to her,
to feel her sweet breath,
might say that sleep
had conquered her too—
if he could say anything
(for, overcome with wonder,
and sweet astonishment, he would say nothing).

Now too, at last, the dark god of sleep arrives,
and with his two dank wings
beats and beats again on those beautiful closed eyes,
so that she falls asleep,
And now the beautiful Iris
is sleeping—she too, at last.
Or at least, her eyes are sleeping;
for her heart is still awake, her heart does not sleep,
but thinks of Phoenix
and devotes itself entirely to that sweet thought.

Still the god beats his wings;
not because he is competing, and trying to win,
but because he takes pleasure and delight
in serving her,
and, knowing what joy,
what pleasure it would give her
to see her beautiful
and beloved Phoenix,
he has already formed the plan
of showing her to her in a dream.

So that is what the great magician does;
and with his sweet and harmless spells
he gathers together a sweet, fresh cloud
of gentle vapours
from the purest and happiest
of those contained in the animal spirits of the blood
of the beautiful girl who sleeps,
and makes out of them an image
which resembles Phoenix:
a living image, so that it seems to be Phoenix herself.
The beautiful Iris sees her.
Sees her?—she even feels her;
she feels that she is in the same bed,
that already she holds her in her arms, and kisses her.

Happy with such fortune,
but happier than she has ever been—quite beside herself,
she returns the embrace
and welcomes her with a kiss,
a delicious, loving kiss;
and she asks her: 'My darling,
can it be true that I see you,
when I have just been thinking of you?'
And since the compassionate god
who wishes nothing to be lacking in such a beautiful dream,
is controlling the charming image,
it seems to her that the image speaks,
and that a sweet reply emerges from the mouth
of her beautiful beloved, 'My soul,
it is indeed true; it is true; certainly I love you
not only more than I love any other person,
but more than I love my own life.
I love you with all my heart; I love no one else;
and I shall continue to love you for ever,'

Having heard that reply,
so sweet and so welcome,
she embraces her again, and showers her
with greedy, devouring kisses, thousand upon thousand.
Then she takes her to her bosom,
and with both her arms
clasps her to her beautiful breast;
indeed she clasps her so strongly, it seems she wants their hearts,
that of the lover and the beloved,
to enter into each other,
so that the two of them might become one.

Ah, who could describe, who could even imagine
what pleasure, what delight there was
in the sucking of the lips
of their two mouths joined together—
both kissing and kissed!—
in the striving of each tongue to outcharm the other,
both of them saying at once, 'My soul!'
'Dear heart!' 'My life!' 'My heart!' 'My darling!'
Who could describe the joy
of those beautiful breasts clasping each other
as their hearts met, so that it was as if
the entire soul of each passed into the other,

until, breathless, and bewildered, and weakening,
it died away at last, and perished! What a sweet moment!
It cannot be described: it cannot even be imagined
except by those who have experienced it;
and those who have experienced it can hardly express it.

From the head to the toes
of the beautiful girl having this dream
there runs a breeze of pleasure, or a kind of fire:
so vigorous that it can indeed be called a fire,
and so pleasurable that it can be called a breeze;
and her soft, sleeping limbs
so shake and tremble that the beautiful Iris
feels it, and wakes up.
But she wakes up in such a way that she hardly knows
whether she is awake or not:
she does not know whether it was a dream or reality,
for the beautiful image

still seems to hold her and embrace her.
Until at last, fully awake,
as a devout person
she gives thanks to Almighty God in heaven
for the night she has passed,
and prays that the day
will be spent in his service.

But her life is not spent in such a way
that Phoenix does not know about it;
she soon goes to her and tells her about this,
and recounts her happy dream from the beginning.
Then, uneasy for a while,
like someone who is in doubt
whether to go on, or stop,
finally she makes up her mind,
and, having fixed her beautiful eyes
on those of Phoenix,
she opens her beautiful mouth,
in which you would see
all loves and graces,
and speaks these sweet words:

'Dreams are lies,
and it was certainly a lie that I had you at my ease,
and held you close,
and heard your sweet words,

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and that you then caressed and stroked me;
and yet that I love you with all my heart,
more than I love myself—
that is no lie, that is completely true,
and can be believed completely. And I am sure
that you will believe it:
for you need do no more
than consider yourself—your face,
the way you move and behave,
for no heart will ever fail to be conquered
by so many and so great excellences.
So my heart is conquered,
and belongs to you: I give it to you,
and may it please you
as much as I would wish it to.'

So she says; and as she speaks she lowers her eyes,
and her face changes in appearance,
as she is tinged all over with a modest blush:
not that she feels in her heart
any impure desires, and feels ashamed of them,
for her longings are chaste indeed, and innocent;
nor is it that having declared herself
first to Phoenix
makes her feel she has been too daring, and makes her blush at that;
nor that her own excessive love
would not let her wait
for Phoenix to reveal
an equal love to her first;
but that although she is somewhat accustomed
to hearing such things,
she is not accustomed to saying them herself.

Oh, what joy and delight
it gives the beautiful Phoenix
to hear and see

what a beautiful and welcome
gift is presented to her!
For she loves her too;
and has loved her long, and loves her much.
And she well knows how to tell her so;
for, having embraced her beautiful neck
with both her arms,
and pressing her beautiful, loving mouth

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on her mouth,
closely and firmly,
she greedily kisses her, and clings to her,
as if she never wants to part from her.
She does not speak; she says nothing;
and yet she says everything:
for such a silence
says more than any amount of witty, fluent speech.

Releasing at last, for a while,
her mouth from the kiss, and her tongue from silence,
she gives a loving reply: 'O my beauty,
if it is true that you love me,
it is certainly true that I too love you.
And if you give yourself to me,
I too give myself to you, and am yours,
and shall be yours for ever; I swear it to you,
and here is a pledge of that'; and so saying,
she kisses her again, and a thousand times, and again a thousand,
she strokes and caresses her. And after so many strokes
and caresses, she says again: 'Oh,
I noticed your love for me a long time ago,
and for a long time I have loved you.
For though you speak of certain of my
fine points and merits,
yours are far greater; and your beauty
is far ahead of any beauty one can imagine.
Yet I said nothing:
not just to others, but even to you.
For to conceal one's desires, even from the person one loves,
although it is
a very awkward thing to do,
is nevertheless a very worthy thing,
which befits a loyal,
discreet, real, and true lover.
And indeed, with time
one's happiness increases,
and becomes more lively, more stimulating, and more enduring.
And as a fire in tinder
made of some tenacious material
can be seen to become
more lively and fierce where it is most hidden;
and as it blazes much more strongly into flame,
more beautifully, more vigorously, and with greater force;

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so the fire of love,
known to a gentle heart,
which is able to conceal it,
later reveals greater things.
As a fast stream
which finds itself closed up
between high, narrow banks,
turns on itself, turns again, boils, and spumes,
and does so so strongly that it finally bursts its banks

and rushes across the countryside,
 flattening everything that opposes it,
 and flooding the fields:
 so—and fiercer still—is love, closed up in the breast
 of a noble lover
 who has contained it within banks of secrecy;
 when the silence is broken,
 it is so strong, and so powerful,
 that all barriers against it are put up in vain,
 and the breast is flooded by a sea of happiness.
 That is what will happen with my love,
 which I kept so confined, so secret;
 anyone who tries to stop it now will act in vain,
 for it will always conquer,
 and conquer on your behalf.
 It will have the force of a torrential stream,
 and all the more so, because it will have it for ever.
 I am loyal and constant, and I promise you that.
 But why waste words?
 Let us go to the temple, to adore God,
 to worship the mother
 of our beautiful friendship:
 for the Divinity does indeed look after wise love,
 since it was for love that he made the whole world.
 Let us go, my darling, let us go.'

Those are her words; and they go there;
 and they pray that Almighty God
 will deign to favour their sincere and pure friendship
 and look kindly on it,
 and bless it with happiness and good fortune.
 And having made their prayer,
 they solemnly swear
 their mutual, irrevocable pact
 under the hands of a priest, committed to that purpose.

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And with their two hearts tied in such a beautiful knot,
 they love each other in earnest,
 and one can well believe that they will love each other
 for ever—as indeed they will.

O blessed pair! O worthy lovers!
 O beautiful, lovely Iris,
 more beautiful than that other Iris which the world marvels at in the sky,
 which is wounded only by the Sun;
 for it displays nothing
 but vain colours and empty shows;
 whereas you were wounded by Phoenix,
 who is indeed more lively and beautiful than the Sun;
 and, having the living image of her in your breast,
 you tell her stories of true and real love.

O happy Phoenix!
 happier indeed
 than that other phoenix (whether fictional or real) described by the poets,
 for if you feel a fire,
 it is a fire that delights you, not one that burns you up;
 and without dying, you have been given
 a new life in the heart of the beautiful Iris:
 and it is such a life
 that in order to live it
 there is no one who would not
 give up his own, willingly,
 with full assent.

Live happily, then, both of you;
let your loves be confined no longer to dreams,
but love each other now in reality;
and as you experience in reality
those pure delights,
those joys so pleasant and innocent,
do so in such a way that the world may marvel at the loves
of the beautiful Phoenix
and the beautiful Iris.

The end.

.....
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NOTES

²¹ Aphrodite.

²² See Letter 168 n. 7.

²³ See Letter 168 n. 8.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 171 [24 January/] 3 February 1665 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (24 January 1665 - 03 February 1665)

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LETTER 171 [24 JANUARY/] 3 FEBRUARY 1665 SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 64 (original).

Monsieur,

Il est bien temps que je Vous aduertisse de mon retour en ceste Ville, puis qu'il y a desja plus d'un mois que j'y suis. J'y ay fait un Discours sur la Comete¹ qui est sous la presse. Mandés moy par quelle uoye je vous l'enuoyeray, & faites moy part de ce que Vous aués mis au jour depuis mon depart d'Angleterre, sur tout ce qui regarde la duplicature du Cube. Nous auons perdu en France M. Fermat, que je uoulois fair juge entre Vous & M. de Sluse.² J'attends impatiemment de vos nouuelles, & suis tousjours constamment,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble & tres obeissant seruiteur
Sorbiere

A Paris le 3. feb. 1665.

[*postscript*.:] Je loge Ruë des petits champs uis à uis de la croix

Je laissay à M. Pulleyn³ libraire quelques exemplaires de mes lettres in 4° & in 8°. ⁴ Je Vous prie de l'aduertir de me faire donner icy par M.

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Cramoisi⁵ son Dioge^{ne}: Laërce⁶ à tout le moins en eschange ou qui me rende argent de mes liures Il y en auoit dix ou douze exemplaires. Vous estes le Maistre de ceste affaire

Translation of Letter 171

Sir,

It really is time that I let you know that I have returned to this city, since I have been here now for over a month. I have written a 'Discourse' on the comet,¹ which is in the press. Let me know what means I should use to send you a copy of it, and share with me what you have published since I left England on anything to do with the duplication of the cube. In France we have lost M. Fermat, whom I wanted to ask to adjudicate between you and M. de Sluse.² I await your news impatiently, and am still constantly,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
Sorbière

Paris, 3 February 1665

[*postscript*:] I am staying in the rue des Petits Champs, opposite the cross.

I let Mr Pulleyn³ the bookseller have some copies of my *Letters*, in quarto and in octavo.⁴ Please let him know that he should arrange for me to be given here, via M. Cramoisy,⁵ his edition of Diogenes Laertius⁶ at least by way of exchange—or that he should let me have the money for my books. There were ten or twelve copies. I leave you in charge of this business.

NOTES

¹ The *Discours de Mr de Sorbriere sur la comete* (1665) is written in the form of a letter to the Bishop of Constance, dated [16/] 26 Jan. 1665; it criticizes scholastic and Cartesian theories of comets, and praises Gassendi.

² Pierre Fermat had collapsed and died during a session of the Chambre de l'Édit at Castres on [30 Dec. 1664/] 9 Jan. 1665. For Sorbière's hopes of using him as an adjudicator, see Letter 165.

³ Octavian Pulleyn the elder, active as a bookseller in London from 1636 to 1667 (Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–1667*).

⁴ *Discours et lettres* (quarto); *Lettres, relations* (octavo),

⁵ Sébastien Cramoisy (1606–69), one of the most prominent printers and booksellers in Paris: he was director of the royal press at the Louvre (Lepreux, *Gallia typographica*, pp. 156–76).

⁶ Diogenes Laertius, *Περὶ βίων* [...] *de vitis dogmatis* (London, 1664).



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 172 [10/] 20 April 1665 François du Verdus to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (10 April 1665 - 20 April 1665)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 172 [10/] 20 APRIL 1665 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS , FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 65 (original).

Monsieur

Il s'en vâ presque tems de vous désirer la bonne année Et les bonnes festes pour l'année prochaine 1666. Vous voyés ce que je veus dire, Que celle-cy s'en vâ passée Et qu'il est fort honteus à moy d'avoyr esté si long tems sans vous écrire. Je vous diray ce que c'est. J'atandois de jour a autre qu'on m'aprit que vous fussiés de retour a Londres. Que vous y eussiés esté j'avois résolu de vous envoyer une Copie de l'Epitre dédicatoyre que je vous fais au Comancement de ma Traduction du Livre de la Sagesse des Anciens,¹ pour avoir votre Censure et bons avis sur cette lettre. Et votre agrément receu je m'atendois d'envoyer mon Exemplaire au net de cette Traduction et de cette lettre retouchée sur vos sentimens a M^r Blaeud² en Amsterdam qui m'a mis au nombre de ses amis Et que j'ay destiné des long tems a faire cette Édition. Tout cela m'a manqué jusqu'à présent voylà un billet que me rendit Mr Kirby de la part de Mr Capel³ (il est vray qu'il y a quelques moys). mais enfin depuis ce tems je n'ay point eu de vos nouvelles ni des sienes. C'est donc là ce que j'atandois Et mesmes Cela eü vous voyés Monsieur qu'il m'eût falu atandre aussi le Comerçe rétably pour envoyer seurement mon Original en Hollande. C'est ce que je feray s'il plaît a Dieu aussi tot après vos différens⁴ terminés Car on nous fait espérer que ce doive estre bien tot, et par la douceur. Je n'ay jamais désiré la paix a la France que je désire cette paix icy Et mon principal motif c'est encore plus pour la joye de l'Édition de vos Oeuvres⁵ que Nous atandons toujours.

Cependant si vous voulés que je vous dise quelque chose de mon Épitre liminaire voicy comment Elle comance.

Monsieur. Je parle de vous des long tems comme d'un tres grand Philosophe Ce seroit fort vous loüer à qui sçauroit bien ce que c'est Mais ce siècle pour ses pechés ne se pique point de cela. Je soutiens aussi Monsieur Que le seul de tous les hommes Vous avés connu les choses Morales a fond Que seul vous avés enseigné la vraye et bonne politique Que vous avés démontré seul les devoys Et offïces de tout homme envers tout autre Et par conséquent aussi ce que doit le sujet au Souverain Et cela sur les vrays principes que vous avés trovés seul:

.....
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C'est un peu plus vous loüer Mais cela mesme n'est pas trop au gout des gens, on le tient assès inutile Les bons et fideles sujets scavent dit on bien leur devoir Et le reste [sans *deleted*] quoy qu'on leur die [> après avoir traité cela des belles Moralités] ont d'autres engagements et l'interet qui les emporte. Voylà ce qu'on en dit Monsieur Et cela sans considerer que le plus seur ou Souverain pour rendre ses sujets fideles seroit de leur faire enseigner de jeunesse dans les Écoles la vraye et bonne politique, Enfin je parle de vous comme du seul de tous les hommes que j'aye éprouvé bon Amy. Et voyant que tout le monde estime fort l'Amitié quoy que d'ailleurs peu a la mode j'ay resolu des longtems de vous loüer de la vôtre que tout le monde le sçeut. Je prens donc cette occasion de vous le dire en public en vous dédiant cette Traduction que j'ay faite de ce Livre de la Sagesse &.^c

Cette Épitre est un peu longue Mais si vous sçaviés Monsieur que tout en y disant vos bons sentimens pour moy dans toutes mes traversses tout en disant que toute ma consolation toute ma joye etoit de [lire *altered to recevoyr*] de vos lettres Et lire de vos Oeuvres si vous scaviés dis-je que j'ay pris occasion de faire le dénombrement de ces Ouvrages si beaux et d'en dire mon sentiment Que vous sçavés des long tems qui est de l'estime la plus grande qu'il soit possible d'avoyr vous avoueriés que si je peus faire quelque chose avec quelque adresse j'ay fair en cette Epitre là tout ce que je suis capable de faire. Ayons la paix Monsieur, soyés à Londres, ou du moins soyés en lieu de Commerce et que j'aye de vos Nouvelles Et je me doneray moy mesme la joye de vous envoyer cette lettre.

Cependant pour profiter toujours d'autant je vous prie Monsieur faites moy l'honneur de m'expliquer la seule chose que je treuve dans le Livre que vous me fites l'honneur de me donner [Et *deleted*] que je n'y entande pas. C'est dans la page 155. Que l'Inventeur de la 47^{eme} du 1^{er} des Éléments mesuroit la longueur de la soutanduë a l'angle droit par les largeurs des lignes qui forment cet angle, et (comme on parle a present) par les indivisibles;⁶ Car je n'ay sceu comprendre cela. Je vous en demande un petit mot d'explication Et une figure particulière de cette hypotenuse ainsi mesurée. Je n'ay point

reçeu le Thucydide⁷ que disoit le billet de M^r Capel mais je vous en suis obligé tout comme si je l'avois reçu. Je croy que c'est cette guerre qui est cause que je ne l'ay pas. des que je l'auray je le liray s'il plait a Dieu et l'étudieray tout comme j'ay fait tout le reste de toutes vos oeuvres si belles. Je voudrois bien scavoir au vray et précisément l'état devotre santé Je vous la souhaite telle que [je *page torn*] la souhaite pour moy mesme Et prie

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Dieu qu'il vous conserve Et vous Monsieur de croire que je suis de tout mon coeur

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus

A Bordeaux le 20^{eme} Avril 1665

[addressed:] For M^r Hobbes At the Greene Dragon In Paules Churchyard London.

Translation of Letter 172

Sir,

It is almost time to wish you a happy new year for the coming year, 1666, You see what I mean: this one is passing away, and I am very ashamed at having been so long without writing to you. I shall tell you why. I was waiting, from one day to the next, to learn that you had returned to London. Once you were there I had decided to send you a copy of the dedicatory epistle, addressed to you, which I am putting at the beginning of my translation of *De sapientia veterum*,¹ in order to get your judgement and your advice on it. Once I had received your approval of it, I was going to send my fair copy of that translation (and of the epistle, revised according to your wishes) to Mr Blaeu² in Amsterdam; he numbers me among his friends, and for a long time I have intended him to be the printer of this work. But none of that had come about until now; there was a note from Mr Capell, brought to me by Mr Kirby³ (several months ago, it is true), but anyway, since then I have had no news of either you or him. So that is what I was waiting for. And you see, Sir, even if I had had that, I would still have had to wait for the mail to be re-established in order to send my original copy to Holland by secure means. That is what I shall do, God willing, as soon as your disputes⁴ are settled; for we are given reason to hope that this will happen very soon, and by peaceful means. I have never wished for peace in France as I now wish for this peace; and my main motive is even stronger in this case, since I am hoping for the happiness which the publication of your works⁵ will bring—something we still await. However, if you want me to tell you something about my prefatory epistle, here is how it starts:

'Sir, For a long time I have referred to you as a very great philo

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sopher. To those who know what that is, this would be high praise; but this century, for its sins, cares nothing about such matters. I also maintain, Sir, that of all men you alone have a really deep understanding of moral matters; that you alone have taught the true, good political philosophy; that you alone have demonstrated the obligations and duties of every man to his fellow man, and, therefore, the obligation of the subject to the sovereign, and that you have done so on true principles which you alone have discovered. In saying that, I praise you a little more. But even that is not too much to people's liking: they think it serves no purpose. Good, loyal subjects, they say, know their obligation; and as for the others, you can tell them what you like, basing it all on fine moral principles, but they will be carried away by their own interests and their other concerns. That is what people say, Sir, without considering the fact that the surest and most powerful way to make subjects loyal would be to have them taught the true, good political philosophy in school when they were young. Finally, I describe you as the only man whom I have found to be a good friend. And since everyone thinks highly of friendship, even though it is not very fashionable, I have been determined for a long time to praise you for yours, so that everyone may know of it. So I take this opportunity to tell you so in public, in dedicating my translation of *De sapientia veterum* to you ...'.

This epistle is rather long, but if you knew, Sir, that in describing your kind feelings towards me in all my troubles, in saying that all my consolation and all my joy lay in receiving your letters and reading your works—if you knew, I say, that I have taken the opportunity to enumerate those fine works and express my opinion of them (which, as you have long known, is one of the highest possible esteem), you would agree that if I am capable of doing anything at all talented I have done everything I could possibly do in that Epistle. I pray for peace, and that you will be in London, or at least somewhere with access to the mail, and that I may receive news of you; in which case I shall give myself the pleasure of sending you this Epistle.

Meanwhile, to profit all the more from you, I beg you, Sir, to do me the honour of explaining the one thing which I do not understand in the book which you did me the honour of sending me. It is on p. 155, where you say that the author of the *Elements*, book 1, proposition 47, measured the length of the line subtended at a right angle by the widths of the lines which form that angle, and (as they say nowadays) by indivisibles,⁶ I was unable to understand that. Please send me a brief word of explanation, and a special diagram of the hypotenuse which is

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measured in this way. I have not received the Thucydides⁷ mentioned in Mr Capell's note, but I am as obliged to you as I would be if I had received it, I think this war is the reason why I have not got it. As soon as I receive it I shall read it, God willing, and shall study it just as I have studied all the rest of your excellent works. I should like you to tell me, truthfully and in detail, about the state of your health, I wish you good health, just as I wish it for myself; I beg God to preserve you, and you to believe that I am, Sir, with all my heart,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus

Bordeaux, 20 April 1665

NOTES

¹ See Letter 68.

² Probably Johan Blaeu.

³ See Letters 163 n. 1 (Capell) and 170 n. 17 (Kirby).

⁴ The second Anglo-Dutch war (1665–7): the outbreak of war had been officially declared on 22 Feb./4 Mar, 1665, though actual hostilities had preceded this by several months.

⁵ The *Opera philosophica*, published by Blaeu in 1668.

⁶ See *Examinatio et emendatio*, p. 155; this passage was omitted in the 2nd edn. (1668), the version of the text printed in *OL. Euclid, Elements*, bk. 1, prop. 47 states that 'in right-angled triangles the square on the side subtending the right angle is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle'.

⁷ Hobbes's translation of Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (1629), republished in 1634 and 1648.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Alexander [Alexandre] More [Morus], The Correspondence (1679): Letter 173 [26 April/] 6 May [1665?] Alexandre Morus to Hobbes , from Paris (26 April 1665 - 06 May 1665)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 173 [26 APRIL/] 6 MAY [1665?] *ALEXANDRE MORUS TO HOBBS , FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 50 (original).

Monsieur,

Ce Gentilhomme Suedois¹ qui vous rend la presente m'ayant ouï parler souuent & de vostre grand merite, & de vostre rare bonté, j'ay creu que je ne pouuois lui refuser ce qu'il á desiré, d'auoir quelque entrée en l'honneur de Vostre cognoissance à ma priere & ma recommandation Je vous supplie donc Monsieur de le souffrir, & je scai qu'il n'en abusera pas, & qu'il á déjà l'inclination qu'ont tous les honnestes gens à vous honorer. Paris est rempli de ces honnestes gens là, qui me demandent tous les jours que c'est que vous faictes, & si nous n'auons

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point á Esperer quelque nouuelle production de Vostre Genie Vous nous en ferés scauoir ce que vous jugerés á propos pour estre communiqué par nous á tant d'Amis que vous aués ici. Je prie Dieu qu'il vous donne des jours tranquilles, & le loisir d'enrichir le siccle de vos belles & singulieres meditations, & suis avec respect

Monsieur

Vostre tres humble seruiteur

MORISS²

A Paris ce VI May 166[5?]

[addressed:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Hobbes, chez Mylord D'Euincher, Á Londres

Translation of Letter 173

Sir,

The Swedish gentleman¹ who brings you this letter had often heard me talk about both your great worth and your unusual kindness; so I thought I could not refuse his wish that he should have some honourable introduction to your acquaintance at my request and on my recommendation. Therefore I beg you, Sir, to permit it; I know he will not abuse the opportunity, and that he is already disposed, like all other worthy people, to honour you. Paris is full of such worthy people, who ask me every day what you are doing, and enquire whether we can have any hope of receiving some new product of your genius. You will let us know, on that point, what information you think we should give to those many friends that you have here. I beg God to give you days of tranquillity, and the leisure to enrich our age with your fine and unusual meditations; and I am, Sir, with respect,

Your most humble servant,

Moriss²

Paris, 6 May 1665

[addressed:] To Mr Hobbes, at the house of the Earl of Devonshire, in London.

NOTES

¹ Unidentified.

² See the entry in the Biographical Register for comments on the spelling of Morus' surname.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 174 [25 September/] 5 October 1665 François du Verdus to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (25 September 1665)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 174 [25 SEPTEMBER/] 5 OCTOBER 1665 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS , FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 66 (original).

Enclosure; Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 83 (original).

Monsieur.

J'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le 20^{eme} Avril de cette année cy Et je vous offris ma Traduction du Livre de la Sagesse des Anciens de Monsieur Bacon.¹ vous me fites l'honneur d'accepter par votre lettre du 2/12 May,² vous me témoignates mesme que mon Comancement d'Épître dédicatoyre (que je vous avois envoyé,) vous eût esté agreable; Et comme j'avois fait dessein que cela s'imprimât en Hollande, vous jugeates, puis qu'il falloit atendre la fin de la guerre, que ce ne seroit pas si tot. voyant cette guerre continüer j'ay songé de faire imprimer cela à Paris. Je donay donc [> mon] Exempleire de Traduction a un de mes Amis, avec la Copie de ma lettre au Roy telle que je vous l'envoye icy, et ma Copie du Sommaire de mon Épître dédicatoyre a vous Monsieur, tel que je vous l'envoye aussi. Mais voyés s'il vous plait Combien les gens a qui j'ay affaire en ont eus d'autres et qu'ils sont bien servis! [Aucun *deleted* > On m'a écrit de paris qu'aucun] Libraire de Paris ne l'a osé entreprendre, Vne Chose que je fis aussi dans le mesme tems: je donay a deus de mes amis deus Copies de cette grande Epitre Liminaire, a chacun la siene, et ils me promirent positivement l'un de vous envoyer la siene et vous la fair remettre en main propre; l'autre d'envoyer la siene a Mr Blaeud.³ Je ne vous nomme pas ces deus hommes, 10 que cela n'est pas necessaire encore. 20 que cette lettre icy pourroit estre interceptée Je suis dans le tems d'avoyr sur cela de vos Nouvelles et je n'en ay point, premierement donc Monsieur, je vous demande des Nouvelles

de votre santé que je vous souhaite parfaite, secondement de cette Lettre si on vous l'a renduë et en troisième lieu

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sur mon dessein que vous voyés icy, par ma lettre au Roy, par le sommaire de ma lettre a vous Monsieur, par le comancement de cette lettre que vous receutes en May, et par la fin de la mesme lettre que je mets encore icy dans ce Pacquet: je vous demande Monsieur si vous pourriés faire imprimer le tout a Londres Je veus dire tout mon Travail, Ma Traduction de ce Livre de la Sagesse, Ma lettre au Roy, Mon Épitre a vous. Et en cas que vous jugiés le pouvoir je vous demande par quelle voye je vous enverray tout cela, J'atans s'il vous plait un Ordre précis. Mais de quelque façon que vous en ordonniés Ayés au moins la bonté de me faire sçavoyr de vos nouvelles tous les deus moys ou au plus tard tous les trois. En verité Monsieur quand vous passés plus de tems que cela, j'en suis trop en peine; ne m'y mettés plus je vous prie Moy qui prens plus d'interet a votre vie que qui que ce soit au monde et qui suis plus qu'homme du monde

Monsieur
votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.
du verdus.

A Bordeaux le 5^{eme} 8^{bre} 1665.

[*postscript*:] ce travail est de 25 feuilles de papier.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 174 [25 September/] 5 October 1665 François du Verdus to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (25 September 1665): Enclosure to Letter 174 letter to the king

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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[*enclosed:*]

Au Roy

Sire,

Ce que je fais icy est tout nouveau et sans Exemple. J'ay traduit le Livre de la Sagesse de Monsieur Bacon; j'ay dédié ma Traduction à Monsieur Hobbes; je le luy dis et le publie; et cependant voicy encore une lettre à votre Maiesté en teste de tout cela. Il est vray que Monsieur Bacon luy mesme donna ce Livre de la Sagesse a deus personnes a la foy, à l'université où il avoit fait ses études, au Comte de Sarisbury⁴ un de ses meilleurs amis: mais c'est icy tout autre chose. Ce que je vous écris, Sire, n'est a vray dire qu'un Placet à prier Votre Majesté de se faire lire mon autre epitre liminaire. Je me serois contenté d'y louer Monsieur Hobbes pour toute autre chose en détail, et de son Amitié pour moy seulement en gros, si je n'eusse songé au bien de vos peuples, et a rendre au moins ce service a Votre Maiesté moy qui ne suis point en pouvoir de luy rendre d'autres services, J'ay donc fait icy le détail des bons Offices que m'a rendus un vray et fidèle amy, pour avoir cette occasion de dire les maus qu'on m'a faits; et j'ay dit cette Oppression

.....
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pour en faire voyr les Causes. Elles m'ont paru dangereuses a tirer en conséquence l'oppression dans vos provinces de vos plus fidelles sujets, et donner une grande atteinte à votre Autorité Royale, feu Monsieur d'Ablancour, Sire, dans son Épitre liminaire a Votre Majesté en teste de sa version de l'histoyre de Thucydide vous dit ce mot en passant, *Les Roys m peuvent aprendre la verité que des morts, parce-que les autres la leur déguisent.*⁵ Ce qu'il dit là n'est que trop vray où il s'agit d'un grand Party; Car comment découvrir le mal? Si dans tels Engagemens on a promis entre autres choses de cacher de tout son pouvoir qu'on soit engagé, les Gens de dedans n'iront pas le dire; Et les Autres, comment le devineront-ils? puis posé qu'ils le devinent, comment le prouver? Et qu'ils le prouvent s'il

se peut, comment le dire, et a qui? Mais Dieu compte tout autrement et il a bien d'autres ressors. vos peuples le louënt, Sire, et je le loüe avec vos peuples, Qu'on voye à votre Majesté l'esprit vif et penetrant le Coeur intrepide et vaste, et tout ce qu'il faut de Sagesse pour achever les plus grans desseins. Mais je le bénis encore en mon particulier de mes souffrances passées, qu'au moins je puisse mêler ce qui m'en revient de lumière a la conoissance profonde de votre Maiesté, et malgré les Gens qui m'oprimment luy faire voyr avec quel zeile je suis Sire de votre Maiesté Le Tres humble tres obeissant et tres fidèle sujet du verdus.

A Monsieur Hobbes Gentilhomme Anglois.

Premiere partie. I. Je fais habitude à Paris avecque Monsieur Hobbes. II. sa confiance en moy et ses bons offices dans mes traversses d'après. III. Ce qu'il me semble de ses Oeuvres et sur tout de sa politique. IV, on continuë a me pousser. V. Je présente au Roy ma Traduction des Elémens de la politique et ce qui en arriva. VI. Monsieur Hobbes me dédie un de ses Livres. VII. Il m'offre de faire valoyr une de mes lettres au Roy. VIII, Il se déclare mon second dans une occasion grande et qui importe pour les suites, IX Abregé des bons offices que m'a rendus Monsieur Hobbes. X Que j'ay deu l'en remercier et ne le pouvois autrement. Seconde Partie. XI Que j'écris aussi pour le bien public; et quelles Gens m'ont poussé. XII Tout Corps de Relligion est quelque chose de très fort. XIII. Et toute fois la Corruption s'y peut mettre. XIV Comment cela peut commencer par le Superieur d'ordre XV. Que tombés en sens reprouvé Il trouve aisé de faire un party pour ses fins particulières XVI. Et le couvrir d'un prétexte de plus grande Gloyre de Dieu. XVII. Quelles Gens Il y fait entrer, XVIII. Ce qu'il peut avec ce party contre le particulier. XIX. XX. XXI, XXII. Exemple d'opression.

.....
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XXIII. Quel grand malheur ce seroit Que la mesme Corruption se répandît par tout le Corps et qu'Il viendroit de là une Ligue. XXIV, Que les Chefs de cette Ligue verroient tout avec Orgeuil, et pourroient tout impunément. XXV, Qu'ils disposeroient toutes choses dans l'etat a oprimer le Souverain, établir leur Tyrannie, et soutenir que ce fût avec droit. XXVI. Combien seroit cruelle cette Tyrannie, et qu'ils tascheroient aussi d'opprimer les autres Chefs d'ordre, ou les reduire a estre Tyrans avec eus. XXVII, Qu'après avoyr fait servir la Relligion de prétexte Ils s'en jouëroient ouvertement, XXVIII, Que de l'Irrelligion il leur seroit fort aisé de tomber dans l'Atheisme. XXIX. Et rendre athée a leur Exemple. XXX. Qu'après cet Aveuglement le plus grand de tous Ils pourraient bien commettre aussi le plus grand de tous les crimes de s'attribuër en propre et ne rapporter qu'a eus seuls le Culte qu'on rendroit a Dieu. XXXI. D'où viendroit leur dureté du Coeur invincible et la perte de leur Ame et de Ceus qu'ils auroient séduits. Troisième partie, xxxij Ce qu'on peut dire contre moy d'avoyr écrit de ces choses là. xxxiij. Ma Reponse en general Que ce n'est point un Secret de Dieu, ni qu'on m'ait donné a garder, xxxiv. Grand Aveuglement de ces Gens dans leur Conduite sur moy. xxxv. Dans leur Nonchalance présente, et dans leur refus obstiné de pourvoir a l'avenir.

XXXVI. Leur grand Orgueil en tout celà. XXXVII. Qu'ils fuyent aussi de rantrer dans l'ordre;⁶ qu'ils se sont trompés Eus mesme en voulant tromper autrui; Et qu'ainsi ce n'est point là l'esprit de Dieu. XXXVIII. Ma reponse plus en détail a l'objection politique, XXXIX puis aussi a ce qu'on disoit a parler seulement en homme Chrétien. XL. L'Etat de mon Coeur au vray sur ces choses là. XLI, Quelque chose de leur droit de Père et qu'ayant deu les considerer seulement comme mes frères j'ay l'Évangile pour moy. XLII, Que bien loin de leur dire des injures, ou leur désirer du mal, je les empeche autant qu'il est en mon pouvoir de tomber dans ce grand malheur, qu'on les chargeat de tous ces crimes, et qu'on deût les en chatier. XLIII, d'où Il suit que ce n'est a moy ni juger téméairement, ni vaine gloire ni vengeance. Quatrième partie XLIV. Application a ce sujet du Psalme quatre vints unième. XLV Que mon dessein est tout le mesme que celui qu'on trouve expliqué au dernier verset de ce Psalme⁷ XLVI. Abregé de tous mes motifs et qu'étant fort persuadé que Dieu voulût cela de moy ç'a esté a moy d'obeir. XLVII Conclusion de cette Lettre.

[*marginal note to next paragraph: Première partie I Je fais habitude à Paris avecque Monsieur Hobbes*]

Monsieur.

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Je parle de vous des longtems comme d'un tres grand Philosophe: Ce seroit fort vous loüer a qui sçauroit ce que c'est Mais ce siecle pour ses pechés ne se pique point de cela. Je soutiens aussi Monsieur, Que le seul de tous les hommes vous avès connu les choses Morales a fond; que seul vous avès enseigné la vraye et bonne politique; que vous avès démontré seul les devoyrs et Offices de tout homme envers tout autre Je veus dire des Sujets d'un mesme Etat entre eus Et ce qu'ils doivent au Souverain de l'etat; et cela par des vrayes principes. C'est un peu plus vous loüer &c.

[*marginal note to next paragraph: XLVII. Conclusion de cette Lettre*]

XLVII. C'est là ce que j'avois a dire; Et c'est pour le dire Monsieur en me loüant comme j'ay fait de toutes vos bontés pour moy, que j'ay pris cette occasion de vous dédier ce Livre de la Sagesse. S'il faut vous dire un mot de ce Livre, (à vous Monsieur qui le connoissés mieus que moy:) fort petit pour le volume, il peut donner en fort grand nombre des Connoissances très profondes. C'est le témoignage fidèle que porta de luy Ce grand homme Le Grand Chancelier Bacon: Il nous le dit dans sa Preface Et il le dit dans son Épitre au Comte de Sarisbury⁸ au lieu duquel je vous mets icy: Et certes aumoins en cela, je n'imite pas mal mon Auteur. Ce Comte a qui Il dédia ce Livre de sa Sagesse avoit les premiers Honneurs de l'Academie: Et je ne voy point d'esprit fort qui n'ait de l'admiration pour le vôtre. Le Comte de Sarisbury avoit l'estime d'un Roy tres sçavant: Et le Roy vôtre Souverain quand Il vous comble de faveurs par les pensions qu'Il vous donne, et qu'Il se déclare pour vous jusqu'a avoyr votre

portrait dans son Cabinet;⁹ fait bien voyr qu'Il est tout sçavant, et que ses Jugemens sont justes. Enfin le Comte de Sarisbury avoit obligé sensiblement mon Auteur: et vous voyès bien Monsieur, avec quel ressentiment ne vous assure que je suis

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Translation of Letter 174

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

Published online: September 2012

Translation of Letter 174

Sir,

I had the honour of writing to you on 20 April this year, and offering you my translation of Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*.¹ You did me the honour of accepting in your letter of 2/12 May.² You also indicated that you had liked the beginning of my dedicatory epistle (which I had sent

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you); and since I had planned to have it printed in Holland, you expressed the opinion that it would not happen so soon, because of the need to wait till the end of the war. Seeing the war continue, I have had the idea of having it printed in Paris. So I gave one of my friends my copy of the translation, together with the copy of my letter to the King (as enclosed here), and my copy of the summary of my dedicatory epistle to you, Sir (as also enclosed). But observe, please, how the people I am dealing with have their own supporters, and how well they are obeyed! I have been told in a letter from Paris that no Parisian bookseller has dared undertake the work.

Another thing that I did at the same time was this: I gave two of my friends two copies of that great prefatory epistle, one to each; one of them definitely promised that he would send you his copy and have it delivered to your hands; and the other definitely promised to send his copy to M. Blaeu.³ I do not give you these two men's names, (1) because it is not yet necessary to do so, and (2) because this letter might be intercepted. It is time I had some news about that from you; but I have received none at all.

So first, Sir, I ask you for news of your health, which I hope is perfect. Secondly, I should like to know whether you have received that letter. And thirdly, concerning my plan that you see here, in my letter to the King, the summary of my letter to you, Sir, the beginning of the letter which you received in May, and the end of the same letter, which I enclose here: please tell me, Sir, if you would be able to have it all printed in London. I mean my whole work: my translation of the *De sapientia*, my letter to the King, and my epistle to you. And if you think you can do it, please tell me how I am to send it all to you. I am waiting for precise instructions, please. But however you arrange it, be so kind at least as to let me know your news every two months, or at most every three. Truly, Sir, when you go longer than that without writing, I suffer too keenly; please cause me no more suffering, for I take more interest in your life than anyone in the world, and am, more than any other person in the world,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus.

Bordeaux, 5 October 1665

[*postscript*:] This work is on 25 sheets of paper.

NOTES

¹ See Letter 172.

² This letter has not apparently survived.

³ Probably Johan Blaeu.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Translation of enclosure to Letter 174

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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Translation of enclosure to Letter 174

To the King

Sire,

What I am doing here is entirely new and unparalleled. I have translated Bacon's *De sapientia*; I have dedicated my translation to Mr Hobbes; I am telling him so, and telling the world; and yet here is another letter, to Your Majesty, at the beginning of it all. It is true that Mr Bacon himself gave this book, the *De sapientia*, to two dedicatees at once: to the university where he had studied, and to one of his best friends, the Earl of Salisbury.⁴ But what I am doing here is quite different. What I am writing here, Sire, is in reality only a petition to Your Majesty, to ensure that you have my other prefatory epistle read to you. In it, I would have contented myself with praising Mr Hobbes only in general terms for his friendship for me, and in detail for everything else, had I not thought of the good of your subjects, and of performing at least this service for Your Majesty—I who am in no position to perform any other services for you. So I have set out here in detail the help which a true and loyal friend has given me, in order to take this opportunity to describe the wrongs which have been done to me. And I have described this oppression in order to reveal its causes, which seemed to me to threaten to oppress the most loyal subjects in your kingdom, and to pose a serious threat to your royal authority.

The late M. d'Ablancour, Sire, in the prefatory epistle addressed to Your Majesty at the beginning of his translation of Thucydides' *History*, makes this passing remark: 'Kings can learn the truth only from dead men, as the rest conceal it from them,'⁵ What he says there is only too true, where a great political faction is concerned. For how is one to expose such an evil? If, in such confederacies, people have promised (among other things) to conceal their involvement to the best of their ability, the people who are involved will not admit it; and how will the rest be able to guess? Then, assuming that they do guess what is going on, how are they to prove it? And even if it is possible to prove it, how are they to report it, and to whom? But God reckons in an altogether different way, and has many other methods. Your subjects praise him, Sire, and I praise him with them, for the quick and penetrating intellect which we observe in Your Majesty, and the generous and bold spirit, and all the wisdom necessary to achieve the greatest plans. But for my own part I bless God even more for my past sufferings, and for the fact that I can at least mingle the illumination I have gained from them with

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Your Majesty's deep knowledge; so that, in spite of my oppressors, I may show you how zealously I am, Sire, Your Majesty's most humble, obedient, and loyal subject, du Verdus.

To Mr Hobbes, English Gentleman

First Part. (1) I get to know Mr Hobbes in Paris. (2) His trust in me, and the services he performed for me in my subsequent tribulations. (3) My opinion of his works, and of his entire political philosophy. (4) My oppression continues. (5) I present my translation of *De cive* to the King—and what became of it. (6) Mr Hobbes dedicates one of his books to me. (7) He offers to bring one of my letters to the attention of the King. (8) He declares his support for me in a great matter, which has important consequences. (9) A summary of the services which Mr Hobbes performed for me. (10) I had to thank him for them, and had no other way of doing so. *Second Part.* (11) I am writing for the public good as well. I say who the people are who have forced me into this. (12) Every religious organization possesses great strength. (13) Corruption, however, can always infiltrate it. (14) How that can begin with the head of a religious order. (15) Having become a reprobate, he finds it easy to form a faction to serve his individual purposes. (16) And to hide it beneath the excuse of seeking the greater glory of God. (17) The sort of people he introduces into it. (18) What he can achieve with his faction against an individual. (19, 20, 21, 22) An example of oppression. (23) What a great misfortune it would be if the same corruption were to spread throughout the body politic, giving rise to a confederacy. (24) The leaders of this confederacy would look proudly on everything, and would be able to do anything with impunity. (25) They would arrange everything in the state in such a way as to oppress the sovereign, establish their own tyranny, and claim that it was all done by right. (26) The cruelty of such a tyranny. They would also try to oppress the leaders of other religious orders, or to force them into becoming their fellow tyrants. (27) Having used religion as a pretext, they would openly make light of it. (28) It would be very easy for them to pass from irreligion to atheism. (29) And make others atheists by their example. (30) After this, the greatest of all blindnesses, they could

easily commit the greatest of all crimes as well: that of appropriating, and directing to none but themselves, the worship which people rendered to God. (31) Thereby bringing about the hardening of their unconquerable hearts and the perdition both of their own souls, and of the souls of those whom they had led astray. *Third Part.* (32) Possible criticisms of me for

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having written about these matters. (33) My overall reply: it is not a divine secret, nor a secret anyone has given me to keep. (34) The great blindness of these people in their behaviour towards me. (35) In their lack of concern at present, and their obstinate refusal to make provision for the future. (36) Their great pride in this whole matter. (37) They are trying to get away from returning to self-discipline;⁶ in their efforts to deceive others, they have deceived themselves; so the spirit of God has no part in their actions. (38) My reply, in more detail, to the political criticism. (39) Then too my reply to what people said, speaking only as a Christian. (40) The true state of my spirit on these matters. (41) Something about their rights as 'Fathers': having had to consider them purely as my brothers, I have the Gospel on my side. (42) Far from insulting them or wishing them ill, I am trying to stop them from falling into the great misfortune of being accused of all these crimes, and of being punished for them, as would be necessary. (43) Whence it follows that it is not rash judgement on my part, nor vainglory, nor vengeance. *Fourth Part.* (44) The application of Psalm 81 to this subject. (45) My plan is exactly the same as that which we find explained in the last verse of this psalm.⁷ (46) A summary of all my motives: being strongly persuaded that God wanted me to do this, I was obliged to obey. (47) The conclusion of this letter.

[*marginal note to next paragraph:* First part: (1) I get to know Mr Hobbes in Paris]

Sir,

For a long time I have referred to you as a very great philosopher. To those who know what that is, this would be high praise; but this century, for its sins, cares nothing about such matters. I also maintain, Sir, that of all men you alone have a really deep understanding of moral matters; that you alone have taught the true, good political philosophy; that you alone have demonstrated the obligations and duties of every man to his fellow man, I mean of the subjects of the same state to one another, and the duty they owe to the state's sovereign; and that you have done so on true principles. In saying that, I praise you a little more, etc.

[*marginal note to next paragraph:* (47) The conclusion of this letter]

(47) That is what I had to tell you; and the reason why I took this opportunity to dedicate this book, the *De sapientia*, to you, was so that I might say it again, Sir, praising as I have done all the kindnesses you have shown me. If I need tell you anything about this book (you who know it, Sir, better than I), let me say that although it is very small in

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size, it can provide a very great number of very deep insights. It is the faithful account which that great man the great Lord Chancellor Bacon gave of himself: he tells us so in his preface, and in his Epistle to the Earl of Salisbury,⁸ in whose place I am putting you here—and indeed, in that at least, I am copying my author's example well. This Earl, to whom he dedicated this book of his 'wisdom', had the highest place of honour in the university; and I know of no great thinker who does not admire your intellect. The Earl of Salisbury was highly thought of by a very learned King; and the King who is your sovereign demonstrates that he is a man of perfect learning and correct judgement, when he showers you with favours, giving you pensions and openly supporting you, to the point of having your portrait in his study.⁹ Finally, the Earl of Salisbury had performed favours for my author which were much appreciated; and you can clearly see, Sir, with what feeling I assure you that I am,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus.

NOTES

⁴ The first dedicatory epistle of *De sapientia veterum* is to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (c. 1563–1612), and the second is to the University of Cambridge (Bacon, *Works*, vi, pp. 619–21). The Earl of Salisbury was Chancellor of the university.

⁵ Thucydides, tr. Nicolas Perrot, sieur d'Ablancourt, *L'Histoire* (1663), sig. aiii^r.

⁶ In view of the earlier references to religious orders, this might mean 're-entering their Order'.

⁷ Psalm 81 in the Vulgate, 82 in Protestant texts of the Bible such as the Authorized Version, in which the last verse (v. 8) is; 'Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.'

⁸ See n. 4, above.

⁹ On the pension see Letter 168 n. 4; on the portrait, Letter 143 n. 3.



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François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 175 [11/] 21 December 1665 François du Verdus to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (11 December 1665 - 21 December 1665)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 175 [11/] 21 DECEMBER 1665 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS , FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 67 (original); letter 68 (original). These two letters are duplicates.

Monsieur

Je vous ay écrit fort souvent sans avoyr réponse de vous: Cela me met fort en peine, après tout ce tems de maladie que vous avés eu en vos quartiers. Je vous avois mesmes envoyé ma Copie entière d'Épître liminaire¹ à vous, Monsieur, pour ma Traduction du Livre de la Sagesse de Monsieur Bacon (lequel vous m'avés fait l'honneur des long tems d'agréer que je vous dédie) Et je n'ay point eu Nouvelles que vous eussies reçu cette lettre. Tout cela me rend inquiet: mais plus sans comparaison l'état de vôtre santé, Et mesme je vous assure plus que si c'étoit de moy mesme. Je vous prie obligés moy de m'écrire en quel état vous estes; Je prie Dieu qu'il soit tres bon; Et Non-seulement je vous désire Bonne l'Année où nous alons entrer:² Mais je prie Dieu qu'il vous comble de longues et tres heureuses années Etant tout a fait de Coeur

Monsieur

vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus

A Bourdeaus le 21^{eme} x^{bre} 1665

[addressed:] For M^r Hobbes At the Greene Dragon In Pawles Churchyerd London

Translation of Letter 175

Sir,

I have written to you very often, without getting any reply from you: it makes me very worried, after this whole period of disease which you have had in your part of the world, I had also sent you my entire copy of the prefatory epistle,¹ which is addressed to you, Sir, for my translation of Bacon's *De sapientia* (which you long ago did me the honour of accepting that I dedicate to you); and I have had absolutely no news of your receipt of that letter. All this worries me; but the state of your health worries me incomparably more—even more, I assure you, than

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my own would. Please do me the favour of writing to tell me how your health is. I pray to God that it is excellent; not only do I wish you a happy new year for the year we are about to enter,⁽²⁾ but I pray to God that he may grant you long and very happy years to come, I am, with all my heart,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus

Bordeaux, 21 December 1665

[addressed: see text]

NOTES

¹ The complete copy (as opposed to the summary and extracts in Letter 174 and its enclosure) has not apparently survived.

² l'Année qui va comançer 68.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdur, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 176 4 [/14] February 1666 François du Prat to Hobbes , from Hinchingbrooke (Cambs.) (04 February 1666 - 14 February 1666)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 176 4 [/14] FEBRUARY 1666 FRANÇOIS DU PRAT TO HOBBS , FROM HINCHINGBROOKE (CAMBS.)

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 69 (original).

Monsieur,

Quoique depuis mon retour en Angleterre,¹ je ne me sois pas encor donne l'honneur de vous écrire pour apprendre de vos nouvelles, Ne croyés pas pourtant, je vous supplie estre le premier à qui j'en demande; Je me suis informé de l'état de votre santé par tout où j'ai trouvé des conoissances, et dans le peu de commerce que nous a permis la maladie, [>et] que lon peut avoir a la campagne. Je n'ai pas laissai d'entendre parler de vous, Monsieur, beaucoup de fois, Et d'aprendre avec bien de la joye que vous estiez en bonne santé. Je ne croi pas devoir plus longtems m'en raporter à autrui, et j'Espère que vous ne trouvères pas mauvais que je vous fasse voir ici combien je souhaite de tenir d'original une si bonne nouvelle. Je vous dirai, Monsieur en revanche, que je suis en fin tout à fait Anglois, la guerre² ne me fera point quitter le dessein que j'ai eu dés long tems de le

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devenir; et je trouve que j'ai en Angleterre par la Grace de Dieu, des conoissances, des amis, et des Patrons, que je n'ai point ailleurs et qui m'obligent d'y attacher toutes mes pensées, aussi bien que ma fortune. Comme vous avez esté l'un des auteurs de mon introduction chez Monsieur le Comte de Devonshire et de ma venuë en ce pays ici, J'ai creu que vous auriez agreable de savoir que je sui le chemin où je suis entré par votre moyen. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, lors que vous le trouvères à propos, de vouloir presenter à Monsieur le Comte les marques de ma soumission et de mon zele pour sa personne et pour toute son Illustre maison, aussi bien que du ressentiment que j'aurai éternellement des faveurs que

j'y ai recuës. J'oserai encor, si ce n'est point trop oser et trop vous incomoder, y joindre mes treshumbles respects à Madame Rich,³ à Mons.^r le Comte de Candish,⁴ et à Monsieur son frere,⁵ si je suis asses hureus pour estre encor dans leur memoire. Pour vous Monsieur, Vous estes dans mon coeur par des raisons tresfortes et tresparticulieres, Et ayant eu pour vous devant mesme que j'eusse le bien de vous estre coneu toute la veneration qui est duë à votre merite incomparable, Vous me ferez justice s'il vous plaist de me croire tout à fait,

Monsieur
Votre treshumble et tres obeissant serviteur
Du Prat

A Hinchinbrooke.⁶ le 4^e. Fevri. 1665/6

[*postscript:*] You will be pleas'd S.^r, when you favour me wth a letter, to make y^e. addresse For M^r. Francis Prat, att y^e. R.^t. Hon.^{able} y^e. E. of Sandwich's house in Lincoln's Inne fields, London. For Hinchinbrooke

[*addressed:*] For M^r Hobbes, Att y^e. R.^t. Hon.^{able} y^e. Earle of Devonshire's house att y^e. little Salisbury, neare y^e. new exchange in y^e. Strand London

Translation of Letter 176

Sir,

Although since my return to England¹ I have not allowed myself the honour of writing to you to learn your news, do not think, I beg you, that you are the first person I have asked for news about you, I have gathered information about the state of your health wherever I have

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made acquaintances, given the little social life which the plague has allowed us, and which is limited anyway out of town. I have not gone without hearing you spoken of many times, Sir, and I learned to my great joy that you were in good health. I do not think I should have to learn about this from others any more, and I hope you will not mind if I acquaint you in this letter with my desire to hear such good news at first hand. For my part, I shall tell you, Sir, that I have become the complete Englishman; the war² will not make me abandon my intention to become one, which I have had for a long time. I find that, by the grace of God, I have acquaintances, friends, and patrons in England that I do not have anywhere else, and that oblige me to attach all my thoughts, as well as my fortune, to this country. Since you were one of the people responsible for introducing me to the Earl of Devonshire's house, and for bringing me to this country, I thought you would like to know that I am following the path which I entered with your help, I beg you, Sir, when you find it appropriate, to present my humble respects to the Earl, and my eager desire to serve him and all his illustrious family, besides the eternal gratitude which I shall feel for the favours which I have already received from him. I make so bold as to add—if it is not too bold, and will not trouble you too much—my very humble respects to Lady Rich,³ to Lord Cavendish,⁴ and to his brother,⁵ if I am fortunate enough to be still in their memories. As for you, Sir, you are remembered in my heart for very strong and very special reasons; and, as I felt towards you all the veneration which is due to your incomparable worth even before I had the happiness of your acquaintance, you will do me justice if you will be pleased to consider me,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant
du Prat

Hinchinbrooke,⁶ 4 February 1665/6

[*postscript and address: see text*]

NOTES

¹ Du Prat had returned from France with Lord Hinchinbrooke in Aug. 1665 (see the Biographical Register).

² The second Anglo-Dutch war (1665–7).

³ Anne, daughter of the third Earl of Devonshire (see Letter 144 n. 3).

⁴ The title used here by du Prat, 'le Comte de Candish' (the Earl of Cavendish), is an error, William Cavendish (1640–1707), elder son of the third Earl of Devonshire, future fourth Earl and first Duke, was styled 'Lord Cavendish'.

⁵ The Hon. Charles Cavendish, second son of the third Earl of Devonshire (see Letter 144 n. 4).

⁶ The Earl of Sandwich's house, outside Huntingdon.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdur, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 177 [27 MAY/] 6 June 1666 François du Verdur to Hobbes , from Bordeaux (27 May 1666 – 06 June 1666)

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LETTER 177 [27 MAY/] 6 JUNE 1666 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS , FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 70 (original).

Monsieur,

Dites moy je vous prie s'il y a long tems que vous n'avés eu de mes lettres, Et ce que vous avés fait durant tout ce tems que j'ay esté sans en recevoir des vôtres? Avec raison je vous fais cette prière. Depuis quelque six mois en ça je vous ay écrit quatre fois, l'une par Monsieur Capel,¹ deus autres par M^r Crooke,² et la quatrième par une autre voye que je creus aussi tres seure, et tout cela sans réponse:³ seulement Monsieur Capel pour réponse a un billet que je luy écrivis dans ce mesme tems pour m'informer de vos Nouvelles m'écrivit qu'il n'en avoit point, et ne sçavoit rien de vous sinon qu'au partir de Londres pour vous retirer aus chams vous estiés en bonne santé. Je prie Dieu de tout mon coeur qu'il luy ait pleu de vous la continuër (si toutefois on prie pour le passé, et que préveüe de Dieu la prière ait pour ainsi dire cet Effet retroactif) Je veus dire que je souhaite que vous ayés esté en santé; que ma [j'auray une *deleted*] joye sera tres grande de sçavoyr que vous y ayiés esté; que je prie Dieu qu'il luy plaise de vous y tenir longues et heureuses années. Pour moy (puis qu'il plait a Dieu) je n'ay presque plus qu'un filet de vie: Mais affoibly pour ce regard j'ay toujours le mesme coeur qu'il a pleu a Dieu de me donner contre ses Mortels Ennemys, contre ces hommes exécrables que j'ay veu si clairement et distinctement qui se jouënt de son saint Nom se sont fait de la Relligion un Métier de voleurs Publics. Il seroit long de vous dire tous les mauvais tours qu'ils me font dans leur rage au coeur de leurs Mystères découverts et de leur coup manqué sur moy: Mais si je vous les disois vous croyriés Monsieur que Dieu me soutient, et prendriés cette grande force qu'il luy plait de me conserver pour un

augure qu'a la fin je vaincray pour luy. Je l'espère pour son service Et mesme j'ose esperer qu'Il voudra que quelque jour je m'en réjouisse avec vous. Je vous prie que cependant vous ayés toujours Monsieur les mesme bontés pour moy, Et qu'étant fort persuadé que jamais persone du

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Monde n'aura pour vous tant d'estime et de respect que j'en ay, vous me croyiés aussi plus que persone du Monde

Monsieur
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus

A Bourdeaus le 6^e Juin 1666

[addressed:] For M^r Hobbes London

Translation of Letter 177

Sir,

Tell me, I beg you, if you have not had any letters from me for a long time, and let me know what you have done during this period when I have received no letters from you. I have good reason for making this request. I have written to you four times in six months, once via Mr Capell,¹ twice via Mr Crooke,² and the fourth time by another means which I thought very safe—and all that without receiving any reply.³ Only when I wrote a note to Mr Capell during this same period to discover your news, he wrote that he had none at all, and knew nothing about you except that when you left London to withdraw to the country you were in good health. I pray to God with all my heart that it has pleased him to preserve you in good health (if, that is, one can pray for the past—if, having been foreseen by God, the prayer can have, so to speak, this retroactive effect). I mean that I hope you have been in good health; that I shall be overjoyed to know that you have been; and that I pray to God that he may be pleased to preserve you in good health for long and happy years to come.

As for myself (since it is God's will), my life hangs by little more than a thread. But, though weakened in that respect, I still have the same courage which it pleased God to give me against his mortal enemies, against these execrable people who (as I have seen so clearly and distinctly), making light of his holy name, have turned religion into a profession of public thieves. It would take a long time to tell you of all the evil tricks they play on me in their fury at the exposure of their mysteries and at the failure of their attempt against me. But if I told you of these things you would think, Sir, that God sustains me, and would consider the great strength of spirit which it pleases him to preserve in me as a sign that in the end I shall overcome on his behalf. I hope so,

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that I may serve him; and I even dare hope that he will allow me one day to share the happiness of my victory with you. Meanwhile I beg you, Sir, to continue in your kindnesses towards me, and that, fully persuaded that no one in the world will ever have such high respect and esteem for you as I do, you will believe me to be, Sir, more than anyone in the world,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus

Bordeaux, 6 June 1666.

[addressed: see text]

NOTES

¹ See Letter 163 n. 1.

² Andrew Crooke (see the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke').

³ The two copies of Letter 175 are probably the two letters referred to here which were sent via Crooke; the other two letters have not apparently survived.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 178 9 [/19] June 1667 Hobbes to Joseph Williamson, from Latimers (09 June 1667 - 19 June 1667)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 178 9 [/19] JUNE 1667 *HOBBS TO JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, FROM LATIMERS*

PRO SP 29/204/1 (original, in James Wheldon's hand, signed by Hobbes).

S^r

I haue been v^sed with very much fauour, and to my full contentment by M^r. Bridgman,¹
Which though I attribute very much to his owne good nature, yet I cannot be perswaded but
that I find in it a tast of my Lord Arlingtons² mediation either by himselfe, or by you. This
obliges me, though not to trouble you with a long letter, yet to let you know the great faith I
haue in his Lord.^{ps} and your fauour, which I would I could testifie in some better manner then
this subscribing my selfe his Lord.^{ps} and

Your most humble and obedient seru^{ant}
Tho: Hobbes

Latimers June the 9th 1667

[addressed:] For my much honoured frend M^r. [sic] Williamson. at Court

[endorsed:] R[eceived]³ June 67 M^r Hobbs

NOTES

¹ William Bridgeman (1646–99) worked in the State Paper Office as under-secretary to the Secretary of State, Lord Arlington, 1667–74, and as under-secretary to Joseph Williamson, 1674–9 (and thereafter to other Secretaries of State until 1694). He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1679 (see Sainty, *Officials*, p. 67, and Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 222–3).

² Henry Bennet (1618–85), created Baron Arlington (1663) and Earl of Arlington (1672), was Secretary of State, 1662–74. He had been secretary to the Duke of York in Paris during the exile, and it is likely that Hobbes had become personally acquainted with him then. In 1666 Hobbes's *De principiis et ratiocinatione* was published, with a dedicatory epistle to Arlington, in which Hobbes declared that 'I owe the greatest comfort of my old age to your influence' ('senectutis meae solatium maximum tuae [...] opi debeam' (sig. A3^r: OL iv, p. 387)). This suggests that the continued payment of his royal pension was dependent on Arlington's patronage.

³ Abbreviation expanded.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Pieter Blaeu, Johan Blaeu, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 179 [29 November/] 9 December 1667 Pieter Blaeu , on behalf of Johan Blaeu , to Hobbes , from Amsterdam (29 November 1667 - 09 December 1667)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The
Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660-1679

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LETTER 179 [29 NOVEMBER/] 9 DECEMBER 1667 PIETER BLAEU , ON BEHALF OF JOHAN BLAEU , TO HOBBS , FROM AMSTERDAM

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 71 (original).

Printed in Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, pp. 132-3.

Monsieur

J'ay fort bien receu la Vostre du [21?]¹ Novembre, et pour réponse a lcelle Je vous diray au premier lieu, que Je me resjouys Infiniment de Vostre bonne santé, le Seig.^r Dieu Pere de toute Misericorde vous la maintienne pour longues anneés. Je vous diray au Second lieu que suis biën aise d'entendre que vous avez desia achevé les deux tiers du livre que vous sçavez,² et que vous travaillez tous les Jours deux heures avec esperance de l'achever avec l'aide de Dieu devant Pasque. au reste J'ay bien compris que vous le faictes écrire par vn autre³ a cause de la foiblesse de vostre main, et puisque celuy là n'entend pas le latin, vous le faictes par après redire, et corriger par vn autre qui l'entend bien, voila qui va bien, et de plus J'auray vn soing particulier pour la correction quand nous l'Imprimerons. Puisque vous fistes faire et graver les Planches a vos despens, Je ne puis pas comprendre [>aussi] que cela doit valoir pour vne propriété a Mons.^r Crook,⁴ et je ne voy pas sur quel droit il me demande payement de ce qui n'appartient pas a luy mais bien a vous. Je veux esperer que vous avez desia receu l'exemplaire de vos Oeuvres, que je vous ay envoyé par Mons.^r Bee,⁵ Je vous supplie treshumblement de le bien feuilleter, afin que je fasse au

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plûtost corriger ce que vous pourriez trouuer estre necessaire tant pour les planches que pour le reste; par après Je ne manqueray pas de vous envoyer les Exemplaires que Je vous ay destinés et que Je vous dois, J'enverray aussy alors aux Libraires de Londres vne bonne partie d'exemplaires afin que ceux qui les desirent les puissent acheter d'eux. Je vous ay desia écrit que je n'attendray pas de les publier après l'autre livre que vous m'apprestez a cette heure, mais Je le vendray separement, et par après on pour[ra *page torn*] acheter l'autre pour avoir vos oeuvres entières. Or [*page torn* Monsi]eur considerant bien ce que vous me conseillez, Je trouue que vous avez grande raison de me dire qu'il seroit bon que je donne ordre a quelqu'un de recevoir de vous ce qui est desia achevé: puisque vous me dictes aussy que vous ne connoissez personne, a qui le bailler seurement a moins que je ne le recomande; Je vous diray que Je connois de longue main Monsieur Samuel Thomson⁶ (marchand Libraire) pour vn fort honneste, et tres fidelle personne, c'est pourquoy Je ne me puis point Imaginer, qu'il y puisse estre aucun danger, que vous luy confiez ce paquet bien scellé de vostre cachet avec ordre de me l'envoyer par Dirck Makreel,⁷ ou quelque autre Maistre de navire de sa et de ma connoissance, ainsy Monsieur, s'il plaist a Dieu Il n'y aura point de danger, et aussytôt que je l'auray receu, J'en commenceray l'Impression pour ne pas perdre du temps en attendant que le reste se fasse. Voila Monsieur tout ce que vous ay a dire pour cette fois, Je finiray donc en vous souhaittant longue vie accompagneé de bonne santé, puisque Je suis véritablement de coeur et d'affection

Monsieur
Vostre Treshumble et Tresobeissant serviteur
Pierre Blaeu au nom de Jean Blaeu

A Amsterdam le 9 Decemb^e 1667

[*postscript:*] J'espere que vous aurez receu ma precedente du 2 du courant,⁸ que Je vous escrivis Il y a 8 jours. Adieu.

[*addressed:*] Monsieur

Monsieur Thomas Hobbes a Londres

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] M.^r Blaeu. Dec. 9th. 1667.

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Translation of Letter 179

sir,

I have safely received your letter of 21¹ November, and in reply to it I shall say first of all that I am infinitely glad that you are in good health: may the Lord God, the father of all mercies, preserve you for many years. Secondly, let me say that I am very happy to hear that you have already completed two-thirds of that book (you know which),² and that you are working on it for two hours every day, and hoping to finish it, with God's help, by Easter. Otherwise I fully understand that you are having it written down by someone else,³ because of the weakness of your hand, and that since he does not understand Latin, you are having it reread and corrected afterwards by someone else who understands it well. That is a good way of doing it, and besides, I shall take special care over correcting it when we print it. Since you had the plates made and engraved at your expense, I cannot understand how that can count as Mr Crooke's⁴ property, and I do not see by what right he is demanding payment from me for something which belongs not to him but to you. I would hope that you have already received the copy of your works which I sent you via Mr Bee.⁵ I very humbly beg you to look through it thoroughly, so that I may correct as soon as possible anything which you may think necessary, in the plates just as much as in the rest of it. Later on I shall not fail to send you the copies which I have intended for you, and which I owe you; I shall also send a good quantity of copies then to the London booksellers, so that those who wish to buy copies from them may do so. I have told you in a previous letter that I shall not wait to publish them after the other book which you are preparing for me at the moment, but shall sell them separately, and later on people will be able to buy the other book in order to have your complete works.

Now, Sir, thinking carefully about the advice you give, I find that you are quite right to say that I should instruct someone to take delivery from you of what you have already completed. And since you also tell me that you know no one to whom you can safely consign it, unless I recommend someone, let me say that I have long known Mr Samuel Thompson⁶ (a bookseller) to be a very honest and very trustworthy person; and therefore I cannot imagine that there can be any danger if you entrust this parcel, well sealed with your seal, to him, with the instruction that he send it to me through Dirck Makerell,⁷ or some other ship's captain known to him and me. In that way, Sir, there will be no danger at all (God willing), and as soon as I receive it, I shall start

.....
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printing it in order not to lose any time while waiting for the rest to be done. That, Sir, is all I have to say to you on this occasion, so I shall end by wishing you a long life and a healthy one, as I am truly, Sir, with my heart and feelings,

Your most humble and obedient servant
Pieter Blaeu on behalf of Johan Blaeu

Amsterdam, 9 December 1667

[*postscript*:] I hope you have received my previous letter of the 2nd of this month,⁸ which I wrote to you eight days ago. Farewell.

NOTES

¹ The '1' is just legible, and so is what looks like the bottom bar of the '2'; Schoneveld conjectures '11'; but my conjecture is based partly on the visual evidence and partly on the dates of this letter and of the letter mentioned in the postscript. Blaeu is replying here to a letter which he had evidently not received when he wrote on 22 Nov./2 Dec. Hobbes's letter does not apparently survive.

² The Latin translation of *Leviathan*.

³ Probably James Wheldon.

⁴ Andrew Crooke (see the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke').

⁵ Cornelius Bee, bookseller in London from 1636 to 1672 (Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–1667*). It was under his imprint that Blaeu's 1668 edition of Hobbes's *Opera philosophica* was issued in England (see Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Bibliography*, no. 105).

⁶ Samuel Thompson, bookseller in London; he died in 1668 (Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–1667*). It was under the imprint of his heir, John Thompson, that Blaeu's 1670 edn. of the Latin *Leviathan* was issued in England (see Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Bibliography*, no. 46).

⁷ Dirck Janson Makerell, Mackereel, or Mackerell, a ship's captain from Amsterdam who received a grant of denization from Charles II on 8 [/18] Apr. 1661 (Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization*, p. 86). In his petition for denization he described himself as 'haveing vsed the English trade for these Sixteene yeares and vpwards, and no other, his owners being all English Merchants' (PRO SP 29/48/1).

⁸ This letter has not apparently survived.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 180 [3/] 13 April 1668 François du Verdus to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (03 April 1668 – 13 April 1668)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 180 [3/] 13 APRIL 1668 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS, FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 72 (original)

Monsieur,

N'est il pas vray qu'il est bien tems de vous rendre graces tres humbles premierement de la lettre que vous me fites l'honneur de

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m'écrire de Latimers le 20^e Juillet 1666¹ où vous me continués a l'acoutumée toutes les mesmes bontés et grâces et faveurs Puis aussi de votre tres Excelent Livre de Principiis et ratiocinatione Geometrarum?² Il peut sembler Monsieur que ce soit vne vieille dete dont je sois en debet depuis tout ce tems: Cependant je ne reçeus la livre ni la lettre que vers ces festes de Pasques avec une autre lettre de M^r Capel.³ par quoy il s'excusoit sur diverses maladies qu'il a eües Et qu'il ne fut pas venu icy de leurs vaisseaus, de ne m'avoir pas envoyé plutot cet autre gage de vos bontés pour moy. Quoy qu'il en soit Je l'ay reçu et grâces a Dieu j'en jouïs et me repais l'esprit de ces grandes verités et si bien démontrées O que je jouirois aussi avec tres grand plaisir de votre Epitome de vos Troubles⁴ si vous le doniés au Public et qu'il pleut a Dieu qu'il me vint. L'Etude de vos oeuvres m'a sauvé après Dieu dans le tems de mes troubles de Moy Et que faute de déchiffrer la grande Enigme de la Relligion Ce Sphinx⁵ me déchiroit l'Esprit encore plus cruellement qu'il ne fait a present le Corps par les derniers poisons ou je passay il y a deus ans Et qui me le pourrissent. Mais a propos de Sphinx je puis vous asseurer Monsieur Qu'une des choses temporelles pour quoy il me tarde le plus d'avoir la Paix de Dieu et d'estre reçu en grâce par la Relligion qu'elle me fasse main levée de ma persone et de mes desseins C'est affin de voyr imprimée ma

Traduction du Livre de M^r Bacon de la Sagesse des Anciens⁶ que je vous ay dediée Il me tarde de vous donner en public Ce temoignage d'une Estime et d'un respect si grands que je pense estre le seul au monde qui sache bien combien ils le sont Ne jugeant pas possible que persone autre [soit *deleted* > vous desire] autant que moy toute sorte de biens et de joyes douces dans cette belle et heureuse vieillesse dont il plait a Dieu de vous recompenser en ce monde par avance de l'autre; Ne jugeant pas possible que persone [soit *deleted* > ait esté] jamais autant que je le suis

Monsieur
Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur
du verdus

A Bordeaux le 13^e Avril 1668.

[*addressed:*] For M^r Hobbes At the House of My Lord the Lord Count of devonshire Or at the Greene Dragon In Paules Churchyerd at the house of M^r Andrew Crooke⁷ or some where London.

[*endorsed by Hobbes:*] Mon^r du Verdus. Ap. 13. 1668

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Translation of Letter 180

Sir,

Is it not true that it is definitely time to present my humble thanks to you, first for the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me from Latimers on 20 July 1666,¹ in which you continue to show me all your usual graces and favours and kindnesses; and secondly for your excellent book *De principiis et ratiocinatione geometrarum*?² One might think, Sir, that this was an old debt which I have owed you all this time; however, I received neither the book nor the letter until round about this Easter. They came with another letter from Mr Capell,³ in which he apologized for not having sent this further token of your kindnesses towards me sooner, on the grounds that he has had various illnesses and none of his company's ships has come here. Be that as it may, I have received it, and (thanks be to God) am enjoying it and refreshing my mind with those great truths, which are so well demonstrated.

If only I might also have the very great pleasure of reading your Summary of your Tribulations,⁴ if you were to publish it and if it pleased God to let me have a copy. After God, what has saved me in the time of my own tribulations has been the study of your works. While I failed to decipher the great mystery of religion, this sphinx⁵ ravaged my mind even more cruelly than it now ravages my body, by means of the recent poisonings which I received two years ago, and which made my body rot. But, talking of the sphinx, I can assure you, Sir, that one temporal thing which makes me long most of all to attain the peace of God, and to be received in grace by religion (so that religion would stop thwarting me and my plans) is the hope that I might then be able to publish my translation of Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*,⁶ which I have dedicated to you. I long to give you, in public, this sign of an esteem and a respect which are so great that I think I am the only person in the world who can know how great they are. For I do not think it possible that anyone could hope more than I do that you may have every kind of good fortune and gentle pleasure in this wonderful, happy old age which it pleases God to reward you with in this world, before he rewards you in the next. Nor do I think it possible that anyone could ever have been, Sir, as much as I am,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
du Verdus.

Bordeaux, 13 April 1668

[*addressed: see text*]

NOTES

⁷ See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.

¹ This letter has not apparently survived.

² Published in 1666.

³ See Letter 163 n. 1,

⁴ This work was never published, and remains unknown. It cannot be identified with *Mr Hobbes Considered* (published in 1662) or with either of the *Vitae* (written in the 1670s).

⁵ Bacon discusses the sphinx, as a parable of the nature of science, in *De sapientia veterum*, ch. 28 (see Letter 68 n. 1).

⁶ See Letter 68.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 181 30 June [/ 10 July] 1668 Hobbes to Joseph Williamson [from London] (30 June 1668 - 10 July 1668)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 181 30 JUNE [/ 10 JULY] 1668 *HOBBS TO JOSEPH WILLIAMSON [FROM LONDON]*

PRO, SP 29/ 242/79 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon).

Printed (partially) in *CSPD* 1667–8, p. 466.

S^r

I haue sent you sealed here the book¹ I spake to you of. The words which you mislike are in the last page but one, w^{ch} is the 12th page of the tract concerning Heresie, and they are these

Some man may perhaps ask whether no body was condemned and burnt for Heresie during the time of the High Commission,² I haue heard there were. But they who approue such executions may peradventure know better grounds for them then I doe. But those grounds are very well worthy to be enquired after.

They may be left out without trouble to the rest that goes before and after. I see no cause of exception against them, and desire to haue them stand, but if the rest cannot be licensed whilst these [> words] are in, you may put them out.³

Our going out of towne is appointed on Monday, therefore I pray you let me haue this againe licensed or not licensed before Sunday night.

S^r I am your most humble seruant
Thomas Hobbes

June the 30th. 1668.

[*addressed:*] To my much honoured friend M^r. John Williamson.

[*endorsed:*] 30 June. 68. R[*eceived*]⁴. M^r Hobbs.

NOTES

¹ *An Answer to a Book published by Dr. Bramhall [...] Together with an Historical Narration concerning Heresie*. These are virtually two separate works, but the last paragraph of the *Answer* introduces the *Historical Narration*. The latter was first published separately in 1680; the two works were then published together, both as a separate volume (1682) and as parts 2 and 3 of *Tracts* (1682).

² The 'High Commission' evolved under Elizabeth I as a court of appeal from ecclesiastical courts in cases involving disciplinary and doctrinal matters; it was abolished by the Star Chamber Act of 1641.

³ This passage appears unaltered in the text as eventually published in 1680 (p. 17: *EW* iv, p. 406).

⁴ Abbreviation expanded.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, *The Correspondence (1679)*: Letter 182 [8/] 18 July 1668 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (08 July 1668 – 18 July 1668)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 182 [8/] 18 JULY 1668 *SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 73 (original).

Viro Maximo, Incomparabili D. THOMAE HOBBIIO Amico suo veteri SAM. SORBERIVS S.P.D.

An viuas, valeas, Londini degas, quid philosopheris, et an mei memor sis, scire laboro, & Româ redux¹ hoc abs te peto, Vir Doctissime. Scripsi ad Petrum Blauium Amstelodami, ut me certiolem faceret de editione librorum tuorum,² quam pridem suscepit. Tuam aduersus fastum Mathematicorum Dissertationem³ libenter legerem. Mitte, quaeso, et de alijs, quae ad rem Litterariam pertinent fusiùs scribe, si quid in Angliâ vestra per meam anni vnus in Italiâ moram contigerit. Ego vicissim recensebo, quae visa à me, auditaque fuerint. Vale, Vir Maxime, et me ama semper, qui te semper summopere veneror.

Lutetiae Parisiorum. 18. Jul. 1668

[*postscript*:] Renati Francisci Slusij, Viri summi, Mesolabum⁴ cum mantissa iterum praelo submittitur, cujus exemplar ad te mittam cum primum Leodio accepero. Iterum vale.

Translation of Letter 182

Samuel Sorbière sends greetings to his old friend, the very great, incomparable Mr Thomas Hobbes.

Most learned Sir,

I am anxious to know whether you are alive and well, whether you are staying in London, what you are philosophizing about, and whether

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you remember me; and having returned from Rome¹ I beg you to tell me this. I wrote to Pieter Blaeu at Amsterdam, asking him to let me know about the edition of your books,² which he has already undertaken, I should very much like to read your dissertation against the arrogance of the mathematicians.³ Please send me a copy, and write to me at greater length about other literary matters, if anything has happened in England during my one year's stay in Italy. In return, I shall give you an account of what I have seen and heard. Farewell, most excellent Sir, and love me always—I who have always the highest respect for you.

Paris, 18 July 1668

[*postscript*:] The *Mesolabum*,⁴ together with a little appendix, by that excellent man René-François de Sluse, is being printed again. I shall send you a copy as soon as I receive one from Liège. Farewell again.

NOTES

¹ Sorbière had travelled to Rome in 1667 for the installation of his friend Cardinal Rospigliosi as Pope Clement IX (see the Biographical Register).

² *Opera philosophica*.

³ Probably *De principiis et ratiocinatione* (1666).

⁴ De Sluse, *Mesolabum*: first published in Liège in 1659 (see Letter 156 n. 5); the 2nd edn. was published by G. H. Streel (Liège, 1668), with some additional material.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 183 20 [/ 30] October 1668 Hobbes to John Brooke, from Chatsworth (20 October 1668 – 30 October 1668)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

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LETTER 183 20 [/ 30] OCTOBER 1668 *HOBBS TO JOHN BROOKE, FROM CHATSWORTH*

R.Soc. MS H. 1. 105 (transcript, possibly in the hand of John Brooke); R.Soc. Letterbook 2, pp. 286–7 (transcript).

Printed in *EW* vii, pp. 463–4 (with the addressee given as Mr Beale); Gee, *Medical Lectures*, pp. 43–5 (omitting the last four sentences); Silverman, 'Anorexia Nervosa', p. 849 (from Gee).

S^r,

The young Woman at Over-Haddon¹ hath been visited by divers persons of this House. My Lord² himself hunting the Hare one day, at the Towns-end, with other Gentlemen, & some of his Servants, went to see her on purpose; & they all agree, with the relation you say was made to your self. They further say on their own knowledg that part of her Belly touches her Back-bone. She began (as her Mother says) to loose her Appetite in December last, & had lost it quite in March following; insomuch, as that since that time, she has not eaten, nor drunk any

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thing at all, but only wetts her Lips with a Feather dipt in Water. They were told also, that her Gutts (she alwayes keeps her Bed) lye out by her at her Fundament, shrunken. Some of the neighbouring Ministers visit her often; others that see her for Curiosity give her Mony, sixpence or a shilling, which she refuseth, & her Mother taketh. But it does not appear they gain by it so much, as to breed a Suspition of a Cheat. The Woman is manifestly sick, & 'tis thought, she cannot last much longer. Her talk (as the Gentlewoman that went from this House told mee) is most heavenly. To know the certainty there bee many things necessary, which cannot honestly be pryed into by a Man. First, whether her Gutts (as 'tis said) lye out. Secondly, whether any excrement pass that way or none at all. For if it pass, though in small quantity, yet it argues Food proportionable, which may being little, bee given her secretly, & pass through the shrunken Intestine, which may easily bee kept clean. Thirdly, whether

no Vrine at all pass; for Liquors also nourish as they go. I think it were somewhat inhumane to examin these things too nearly, when it so little concerneth the Commonwealth; nor do I know of any Law that authoriseth a Justice of Peace, or other Subject to restrain the Liberty of a sick person, so farr as were needfull for a discovery of this Nature. I cannot therefor deliver any Judgment in the case. The examining whether such a thing as this bee a Miracle, belongs (I think) to the Church. Besides, I my self in a Sicknes, have been without all manner of Sustenance, for more then 6 weeks together,³ which is enough to make mee think, that 6 Months would not have made it a Miracle. Nor do I much wonder that a young Woman of clear Memory houely expecting death, should bee more devout, then at other times. 'Twas my own case. That which I wonder at most is, how her Piety without Instruction should bee so eloquent, as 'tis reported.

Tho: Hobbes.

Chatsworth Oct: 20. 68

[*annotated:*] read Dec:^r 10: 1668. ent.^d L[etter] B[ook]⁴ 2 286

[*endorsed:*] From M^r Hobbs to m^r Brooke 2^d: Decemb: 1668. Read at ye Society Dec. 10 1668. Order'd to be filed vp.

[*endorsed in another hand:*] An Extract of a Letter brought me by Mr Colwall⁵ concerning a young woman reported to have fasted for many months together

.....
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NOTES

¹ A village north-west of Bakewell, Derby., three miles from Chatsworth.

² The third Earl of Devonshire.

³ See Letter 56.

⁴ Abbreviation expanded.

⁵ Daniel Colwall (d. 1690), a rich London citizen, philanthropist, and amateur scientist, became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1661 and was one of its most active members, serving as Treasurer to the Society from 1665 to 1679.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 184 24 October [/3 November] 1668 Hobbes to the Hon. Edward Howard, from Chatsworth (24 October 1668 – 03 November 1668)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 184 24 OCTOBER [/3 NOVEMBER] 1668 HOBBS TO THE HON. EDWARD HOWARD, FROM CHATSWORTH

MS unlocated, formerly among the Egerton-Warburton muniments at Arley Hall, Cheshire (dispersed in 1937); summarized in HMC, *Third Report*, p. 291; printed in *EW* iv, pp. 458–60.

Printed version of letter (differing from MS) in Edward Howard, *The Brittish Princes*, sigs. a7^v–a8.

TO THE RIGHT HON. MR. EDWARD HOWARD ¹

SIR,

MY Judgement in *Poetry* hath, you know, been once already Censured by very good Wits, for commending *Gondibert*;² but yet they have not, I think, disabled my testimony. For, What Authority is there in Wit? A Jester may have it; a Man in drink may have it, be³ fluent over night, and wise and dry in the morning. What is it? Or, Who can tell whether it be better to have it, or be without it, especially if it be a pointed Wit? I will take my liberty to praise what I like, as well as they do to reprehend what they do not like: Your Poem⁴ Sir, contains a well and judiciously contrived Story, full of admirable and Heroick actions, set forth in noble and perspicuous language, such as becomes the dignity of the persons you introduce, which two things of themselves are the height of Poetry, I know, that variety of story, true, or feigned, is the thing wherewith the Reader is entertain'd most delightfully: And this also, to the smallness of the Volumes is not wanting. Yours is but one small piece, whereas the Poets that are with us, so much admir'd, have taken larger Subjects. But, let an English reader, in Homer or Virgil in English, by whomsoever translated, read one piece by it self, no greater than yours, I may make a question whether he will be less pleased with yours

than his: I know you do not equal your Poem to either of theirs, the bulk of the⁵ Work does not distinguish the Art of the Workman. The Battle of Mice and Frogs may be owned without disparagement by Homer himself.⁶ Yet if Homer had written nothing else, he never had had the reputation of so admirable a poet as he was⁷ Ajax was a man of very great stature, and Teucer a very little person, yet he was brother to Ajax both in blood and Chivalry. I commend your Poem for judgment, not for bulk; and am assured it will be wellcome to the World with its own confidence; though if it come forth armed with Verses and Epistles I cannot tell what to think of it. For, the great Wits

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will think themselves threatned, and rebel. Unusual Fortifications upon the borders carry with them a suspicion of Hostility. And Poets will think such Letters of Commendation a kind of confederacy and league, tending to usurp upon their liberty. I have told you my judgment, and you may make use of it as you please. But I remember a line or two in your poem, that touched upon divinity, wherein we differed in opinion.⁸ But since you say the book is licensed, I shall think no more upon it, but only reserve my liberty of dissenting, which I know you will allow me. I rest,

Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
THOMAS HOBBS.

*Chatsworth, October the 24th, 1668*⁹

NOTES

¹ TO THE HONOURABLE *Edward Howard*, Esq; On his intended Impression of his POEM OF THE BRITISH PRINCES. 1669.

² Hobbes had praised Sir William Davenant's heroic poem *Gondibert* in his 'Answer' to Davenant's Preface to the poem, first published (with the Preface but without the poem) in 1650 (Davenant, *A Discourse upon Gondibert*), and then published with the poem in 1651, *Gondibert* was greeted with ridicule in England; a volume of satirical poems about it (*Certain Verses written by Severall of the Authors Friends; to be Re-printed with the Second Edition of Gondibert*, 1653), by John Denham and others, includes the following:

I am old *Davenant* with my Fustian quill,
Though skill I have not,
I must be writing still
On *Gondibert*,
That is not worth a fart.

Waller and *Cowly* tis true have praised my Book,
But how untruly
All they that read may look;
Nor can old *Hobbs*
Defend me from dry bobbs

(Davenant, *Gondibert*, ed. Gladish, appendix B, p. 277; a dry bob = a sharp rebuke or bitter jest: *OED* bob *sb.*³ 2).

³ it, and be 1669.

⁴ *The Brittish Princes*.

⁵ a 1669.

⁶ The *Batrachomyomachia*, a burlesque poem popularly attributed to Homer.

⁷ Workman: besides, 'tis a vertue in a Poet to advance the honour of his remotest Ancestors, especially when it has not been done before. What, though you out-goe the limits of certain History? Do *Painters*, when they Paint the Face of the Earth, leave a blanck beyond what they know? Do not they fill up the space with strange Rocks, Monsters, and other Gallantry,

to fix their work in the memory of Men by the delight of fancy? So will your Reader from this Poem think honourably of their original, which is a kind of Piety. 1669.

⁸ The only controversial lines on divinity in the poem come in a passage on natural religion and the corruption of priestcraft in bk. 2, canto 1. One would expect Hobbes to have agreed with them; so the comments in this letter (especially the reference to the licensing of the book) may have been a guarded way of saying that Hobbes differed in opinion with Howard over the wisdom of publishing such lines:

Thus Man from Nature Heaven did first revere,
E'r Priesthoods pious frauds induc'd their fear;
Who Man directed from this Road to stray,
That these (as hireling Guides) might lead his way.
And here themselves set up, e'r mankind saw
How Sects had mask'd the face of heav'ns bright Law;
Who like Seel'd Doves, their souls had taught to fly
That lose themselves, in hope to reach the Sky.
Thus Reason, and Belief at diff'rence grew;
Instructing more than from Heav'ns works men knew,
On which, while they with wondring prospect look,
Admire Faiths Text, unwritten in this Book.
While that reflects a Being to our sense,
In this vast mirror, of omnipotence;
And but the essence from us does conceal,
Too great for Natures Glasses to reveal.
(pp. 93–4)

⁹ 1669 omits the last three sentences of the text of the letter, ending as follows: liberty, I need say no more, but rest, Sir, Your Honors most humble and obedient Servant, *Thomas Hobbs*. Chatsworth. Nov. the 6th. 1668



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Samuel Sorbière, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 185 [22 January/] 1 February 1669 Samuel Sorbière to Hobbes, from Paris (22 January 1669 - 01 February 1669)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 185 [22 JANUARY/] 1 FEBRUARY 1669 SAMUEL SORBIÈRE TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS

BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 529^v–530^r (transcript).

Printed in Tönnies, 'Siebzehn Briefe', p. 218.

Clarissimo Viro D. Thomae Hobbio, Samuel Sorberius.

Audio, Vir Clarissime, Volumen Operum tuorum Latinorum¹ in lucem prodijisse, Spero
Blauium² sponte mihi suâ missurum Exemplar

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quod jure debet ob Codicem Manuscriptum & tabulas traditas. Indices tamen, velim, hoc
quidquid est officij, nam distracta statim fuere quae hûc venerant Exemplaria. Scripsi ad te
bis à reditu meo ex Italia,³ & quaeso te nunc Responsum facias, vt te Viuere, & quod opto,
Valere significem Eruditus, qui de te percontantur Philosophorum Decano. Ego infia aetatem
tuam procul dubio subsidam, qui nondum sexagenarius pedibus aegrè me porto meis,
nec sine laterum dolore.⁴ Verùm vt conuiua satur ex vita recedam, nec Diuinae Voluntati
reluctabor. Vale, Vir Maxime, & Viue mei memor.

Lutetiae Parisiorum Kalendis februarij 1669.

Translation of Letter 185

Samuel Sorbière to that most distinguished man, Mr Thomas Hobbes.

Most distinguished Sir, I hear that the volume containing your Latin works¹ has been published, I hope Blau² will send me a copy of his own accord; he owes me one by right, since it was I who sent him the manuscript and the plates, I should like you to point this out to him, whatever obligation he has, because all the copies which came here were sold off immediately.

I wrote to you twice after my return from Italy,³ and beg you to reply now, so that I may tell the learned men here, who count you as the doyen of philosophers, that you are alive and (I hope) well. I have no doubt that I shall pass away before reaching your age, since although I am not yet 60 years old, I am already shaky on my feet, and suffer from some pain in my sides.⁴ Truly, I shall withdraw from this life like a guest who has feasted well, and shall not struggle against the will of God. Farewell, most excellent Sir, and live to remember me.

Paris, 1 February 1669

NOTES

¹ *Opera philosophica*.

² Probably Pieter Blaeu (see Letter 182).

³ See *ibid.*, especially n. 1; the other letter referred to here has apparently not survived.

⁴ Sorbière died in the following year, aged 54.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Pieter Blaeu, Johan Blaeu, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 186 [9/] 19 July 1669 Pieter Blaeu, on behalf of Johan Blaeu, to Hobbes, from Amsterdam (09 July 1669 - 19 July 1669)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 186 [9/] 19 JULY 1669 PIETER BLAEU, ON BEHALF OF JOHAN BLAEU, TO HOBBS, FROM AMSTERDAM

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 74 (original).

Printed in Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, p. 133.

Monsieur.

Je dois [> pour] responce a vostre agreable du 17/27 de Juin,¹ que j'ay receu vostre dernier livre de quadratura Circuli etc & commencé a l'imprimer, mais ayant veu qu'on fait une refutation a Oxfort, & que vous allez faire une responce, je suivray vostre ordre, a ne rien mettre avec vos autres oeuvres, que vous ne m'avez envoye la responce, & que je scache que vous voulez bien que cela soit vendu.² Monsieur André Crooke³ m'escrit qu'il pretend 25 exemplaires pour la permission, qu'il dit, m'avoir donne d'imprimer vos oeuvres & qu'on les luy a accordé, & que sans cela il a le pouvoir de saisir tous les exemplaires qui viennent en angleterre, pour moy je ne Fay rien promis, ne pretendant pas que c'est de luy que j'ay cette autorite, mais bien de V[otre] Gr[ace]⁴: mesmes, Or je ne scay pas si vous l'avez promis quelque chose, ce que je seray bien aise de scavoir, comme aussi s'il a le pouvoir de les saisir comme il dit, & ce par l'honneur d'un mot de responce a celle cy, Cependant je suis de Coeur & d'affection

Monsieur

Vostre treshumble Serviteur Pierre Blaeu au Nom de Mon Pere Jean Blaeu

a Amsterdam le 19 de Juillet 1669

a Mons^r Hobbes.

[addressed:] Monsieur

Monsieur Thomas Hobbes London

[endorsed by James Wheldon:] M.^r Bleau July 19.th 1669.

Translation of Letter 186

Sir,

In reply to your kind letter of 17/27 June,¹ I must tell you that I received your last book, *Quadratura circuli*, and began to print it. But,

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having seen that someone is writing a refutation of it at Oxford, and that you are going to write a reply, I shall follow your instruction to put nothing with your other works until you have sent me the reply, and until I know that you really want it to be sold.²

Mr Andrew Crooke³ wrote to tell me that he claims twenty-five copies in payment for the permission which, he says, he has given me to print your works; he says they have been assigned to him, and that otherwise he will have the power to seize all copies entering England. For my own part I have promised him nothing; my claim is that I have been authorized not by him but by your gracious self.⁽⁴⁾ However, I do not know whether you have promised him anything, and I should like to know about this. I should also like to know (if you would honour me with a reply to this letter) whether he does have the power to seize them as he says. Be that as it may, I am, Sir, sincerely and affectionately,

Your most humble servant,
Pieter Blaeu (on behalf of my father, Johan Blaeu)

Amsterdam, 19 July 1669

[addressed:] To Mr Thomas Hobbes, London

NOTES

¹ This letter has not apparently survived.

² *Quadratura circuli, cubatio sphaerae, duplicatio cubi, breviter demonstrata* was published by Andrew Crooke in 1669. John Wallis's refutation, *Thomae Hobbes quadratura circuli, cubatio sphaerae, duplicatio cubi; confutata*, was published at Oxford in 1669. Hobbes's reply was *Quadratura circuli, cubatio sphaerae, duplicatio cubi, una cum responsione ad objectiones geometriae professoris saviliani Oxoniae editas anno 1669*; this pamphlet, dedicated to Prince Cosimo of Tuscany, was inserted in some copies of the *Opera philosophica* published by Blaeu, and it is also sometimes found separately (see Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Bibliography*, nos. 68 and 104, and addenda, no. 68). For Hobbes's own comments on the revision of his argument see Letter 187.

³ See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.

⁴ Abbreviation expanded.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 187 6 [/16] August 1669 Hobbes to Cosimo de' Medici, from London (06 August 1669 - 16 August 1669)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 187 6 [/16] AUGUST 1669 *HOBBS TO COSIMO DE' MEDICI, FROM LONDON*

BNC MS Gal. 286 ('Posteriori di Galileo', xxvii, part 3, carteggio 12), fos. 50^r, 52^v (original, in the hand of James Wheldon).

Serenissime Princeps

Vna cum mea hac Epistola accipiet Celsitudo tua exemplaria aliquot Libelli mei quem tibi (Princeps Optime) nunc tandem quanta potui cura editum, de Quadratura Circuli etc dedicaui,¹ In quo Propositionem primam et praecipuam (quia nonnullis non satis clare demonstrata videbatur) demonstrationibus aliis non modo claram reddidi, sed etiam splendidam. Secundam, in qua mendum erat, emendaui. Caeteras retinui, et contra aduersariorum Objectiones confirmaui. Nolui tanti Principis ad doctrinam falsam vel incertam abuti patrocínio. Itaque exemplaria priora vt accuratissimè examinarentur, non amicis sed (quod tutius erat) tortoribus exposui, quasi igni purgatorio, vtiliores esse sciens ad cautelam, tum in scribendo tum in viuendo, inimicum quam amicum. Libello tam bene purgato non amplius metuo. Auspice te, cui nascentes scientias tueri patrium est, qua volet vagetur.

Restât vt Celsitudini tuae gratias agam a cuius illuminatione duas mihi res gratissimas, Senectutis meae solatia consequutus sum, amicorum gratulationes, et inimicorum inuidiam. Itaque quem Rex et Proceres et Populus Anglicanus vniversus laudat, ego te semper praedicabo, Deumque vt vitam tibi longara et prosperam concedat, precibus assiduis sollicitabo.

Serenissimae Celsitudinis tuae seruus humillimus

Thomas Hobbes

Londini 6° Augusti 1669.

[annotated:] 6 Ag.^{to} 1669

Translation of Letter 187

Most serene Prince,

May Your Highness please accept, together with this letter, a few copies of the pamphlet about the squaring of the circle, etc.,¹ which I

.....
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have dedicated to you (most excellent Prince), and which has now been edited with as much care as I could manage. Because some people thought my first and principal proposition was not demonstrated clearly enough, I have here used other proofs which render it not only clear but blazingly obvious. I have corrected the second proposition, which contained an error. I have kept the other propositions unaltered, and strengthened them against the objections of my critics, I did not want to abuse the patronage of such a great prince by invoking it on behalf of false or uncertain doctrine. So, in order that the earlier copies of this pamphlet should be subjected to the most minute examination, I submitted them not to friends but, more cautiously, to torturers—putting them, as it were, in a purifying fire. For I knew that, in writing books just as in real life, enemies are more useful than friends in enabling us to take precautions. Now that the pamphlet has been so thoroughly purified, I have nothing more to fear. With you as its protector (whose hereditary role it is to protect the new-born sciences), let it roam wherever it may go.

It remains for me to thank Your Highness, who, in taking notice of me, has enabled me to attain the two sweetest consolations of my old age: the congratulations of my friends and the envy of my enemies. The King, nobility, and entire people of England praise you; I shall always praise you too, and shall pray incessantly to God that he may grant you a long and prosperous life.

Your Serene Highness's most humble servant,
Thomas Hobbes

London, 6 August 1669

NOTES

¹ See Letter 186 n. 2.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Cosimo de Medici, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 188 [25 January/] 4 February 1670 Cosimo de' Medici to Hobbes, from Pisa (25 January 1670 - 04 February 1670)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 188 [25 JANUARY/] 4 FEBRUARY 1670 COSIMO DE' MEDICI TO HOBBS, FROM PISA

BNC MS Gal. 286 ('Posteriori di Galileo', xxvii, part 3, carteggio 12), fo. 51^r (rough draft, in the hand of Vincenzo Viviani)¹

Il Pri.^{pe} Ser:^{mo} Al s:^{re} Dott.^e Tomm. Hobbes Inglese Londra

Tantae Eruditionis viro, ac de re Geometrica optimè merito (talem te literarius orbis iure fatetur) ipsa virtus fulcimentum est, et munimen:

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idcirco haud sano consilio factum puto, Doctrinam de Quadratura Circuli &c, [>ab te] nuperrime restitutam, meo nomini iussisti,² quod labile et obscurum est; dum sola tui ipsius fama ad tutelam, et lucem longè validior. Ceterum quamplurimi duxi memoriam mei in [>tua] mente adeo superstitem [>fore] vt de eadem tam splendide placuerit opinari: vnde humanitati iam satis expertae id quoquetribuendum cùm debitas interim defero [gratias]³, tùm, data occasione, omnia tibi existimationis, et beneuolentiae officia [>spondeo] persoluenda Vale.

li 4 Febb.^o 1669 ab Inc.[arnatio]^{ne4} di Pisa

Translation of Letter 188

The most serene Prince to the learned Englishman Thomas Hobbes, in London.

A man of such learning, and so extremely worthy in the field of geometry (as you are rightly acknowledged to be by the world of letters), is supported and protected by his own excellence. So I think it was unwise of you to dedicate to my name the doctrine of the squaring of the circle which you have just re-established;² my name is transient and obscure, whilst your own reputation is a much more powerful source of protection and glory. However, I greatly value the fact that you should have cherished the memory of my visit to the extent of paying me such a compliment; this too must be attributed to your kindness, which is already well known. I give you my due thanks⁽³⁾ in the meantime, and I promise that when an opportunity arises I shall fulfil all the duties of esteem and goodwill which I bear towards you. Farewell.

Pisa, 4 February 1669/1670.⁴

NOTES

² See Letter 186 n. 2, and Letter 187.

³ grates *MS*.

⁴ Contraction expanded. In the Tuscan calendar the year was dated 'from the Incarnation', i.e. from 25 Mar.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 189 13/23 July 1670 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Hobbes, from Mainz (13 July 1670 - 23 July 1670)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

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LETTER 189 13/23 JULY 1670 GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ TO HOBBS, FROM MAINZ

BL MS Add. 4294, fos. 64–5 (original); *ibid.*, fos. 62–3 (transcript).

Printed in Guhrauer, *Leibnitz*, ii, pp. 61–5; Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, i, p. 82; Tönnies, 'Leibnitz und Hobbes', pp. 557–61; Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, Briefwechsel, philosophische Reihe, i, pp. 56–9. Translation (extract) printed in Leibniz, *Philosophical Papers and Letters*, ed. Loemker, i, pp. 162–6.

VIR AMPLISSIME,

Cum nuper ex amici Angliam lustrantis literis vivere Te adhuc & valere, eâ aetate, maximâ animi voluptate intellexissem, non potui me à scribendo continere; qvòd, si intempestivè factum est, silendo punire poteris, mihi nihilominus satis erit affectum testari. Opera Tua partim sparsim partim junctim edita pleraque me legisse credo, atque ex iis qvantum ex aliis nostro seculo non multis profiteor profecisse. Nihil auribus dare soleo, sed agnoscunt hoc mecum omnes, qvibus Tua, in civili doctrina scripta assequi datum est, nihil ad admirabilem in tanta brevitate evidentiam addi posse, definitionibus nihil et rotundius et usui publico consentaneum magis; in theorematis inde deductis sunt qvi haereant, sunt qvi iis ad malesana abutantur, qvòd ego in plerisque ex ignorata applicandi ratione evenisse arbitrò. Si qvis generalia illa motus principia: nihil moveri incipere, nisi ab alio moveatur; corpus qviescens qvantumcunque à qvantulocunque, levissimo motu impelli posse,¹ aliâqve intempestivo saltu rebus sensibilibus applicuerit, nisi praeparatis animis demonstraverit pleraque qvae qviescere videntur, insensibiliter moveri, vel à plebe deridebitur. Similiter si qvis Tua de Civitate [>vel Republica] demonstrata, omnibus coetibus qvi vulgo ita appellantur; Tua summae potestatis attributa omnibus, Regis, Principis, Monarchae, Majestatis nomen sibi vindicantibus; Tua de summa in statu naturali licentia omnibus diversarum Rerumpublicarum civibus negotia aliqua inter se tractantibus accommodaverit, is

si quid conjicio, etiam Tua sententia magnopere falletur. Agnoscis enim multas esse in Orbe Terrarum [> Respublicas] quae non sint una civitas, sed plures confoederatae, multos esse titulo Monarchas, in quos caeteri voluntatem suam nunquam transtulerint: neque diffiteris supposito Mundi Rectore nullum esse posse hominum statum [> pure] naturalem extra omnem Rempublicam, cum Deus sit omnium Monarcha communis: ac proinde non rectè nonnullos hypothesibus

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Tuis licentiam impietatemque impingere. Ego qui Tua, [> ita] ut dixi semper intellexi, fateor magnam in iis mihi lucem accensam, ad persequendum quod molior cum amico,² opus Jurisprudentiae rationalis. Cum enim observarem Ictos Romanos incredibili subtilitate, ac dicendi ratione luculenta Tuaeque valde simili sua quae in Pandectis³ conservata sunt, responsa condidisse; cum cernerem magnam eorum partem ex mero naturae jure pene demonstrando collectam, reliqua ex principiis non multis, quancquam arbitrariis, plerumque tamen ex usu Reipublicae sumtis eadem certitudine deducta; igitur cum primum in Jurisprudentia pedem posui jam à quadriennio circiter consilia agitavi, quâ ratione paucissimis verbis (ad modum veteris Edicti perpetui)⁴ Elementa Juris eius quod Romano Corpore continetur condi possint, ex quibus deinde liceat *leges* [> *eius*] *universales* velut demonstrare. Quancquam autem multa intercedent, praesertim in Imperatorum rescriptis⁵ meri juris naturalis non futura; haec tamen luculenter a caeteris discernentur, et reliquorum multitudine pensabuntur. Praesertim cum asserere ausim dimidiam Juris Romani partem meri juris naturalis esse, et constet totam pene Europam eo jure uti, nisi cum ei disertè locorum consuetudine derogatum non est. Has tamen curas prolixas fateor ac lentas aliis nonnunquam amoenioribus interstingvo, soleo enim & [two words deleted] quaedam quandoque de natura rerum quancquam velut peregrinum in orbem delatus, ratiocinari. Ac de abstractis motuum rationibus, in quibus jacta à Te fundamenta mihi se mirificè approbant interdum cogitavi: et Tibi quidem prorsus assentior corpus à corpore non moveri, nisi contiguo et moto, motum qualis coepit, durare nisi sit quod impediat.⁶ In quibusdam tamen fateor me haesisse, maximè autem in eo quod causam consistentiae, seu quod idem est cohaesionis in rebus liquidam redditam non deprehendj. Nam si Reactio, ut alicubi innuere videris, eius rei unica causa est,⁷ cum reactio sit motus in oppositum impingentis, impactus autem oppositum sui non producat, erit reactio etiam sine impactu. Reactio autem est motus partium corporis à centro ad circumferentiam; ille motus aut non impeditur, et tunc exhibunt partes corporis, & ita corpus suum deserent, quod est contra experientiam; aut impeditur, & tunc cessabit motus reactionis nisi externo auxilio, quale nullum hîc commodè reperias, resuscitetur. Ut taceam vix explicabile esse, quam ob causam unum[> quodque] corpus in quolibet puncto sensibili à centro ad circumferentiam conetur: item quomodo sola reactio rei percussae efficiat, ut tanto major sit resultantiae impetus, quanto major fuit incidentiae. Cum tamen rationi consentaneum sit majorem inciden-

tiam minuere reactionem. Sed hae dubitatiunculae meae fortè ex Tuis non satis intellectis proficiscuntur. Ego crediderim ad cohaesionem corporum efficiendam sufficere partium conatum ad se invicem, seu motum quo una aliam premit. Quia quae se *premunt* sunt in conato penetrationis. Conatus est initium, penetratio unio. Sunt ergo in initio unionis. Quae autem sunt in initio unionis, eorum initia vel termini sunt unum. Quorum Termini sunt unum seu *τα ἔσχατα ἐν*, ea etiam Aristotele definitore non jam contigua tantum, sed continua sunt,⁸ et verè unum corpus, uno motu mobile. Has contemplationes, si quid veri habent, non pauca in theoria motus novare, facile agnoscis. Restat probem quae se *premunt* esse in conatu penetrationis, Premere est conari in locum alterius adhuc inexistentis, Conatus est initium motus. Ergo initium existendi in loco in quem corpus conatur. Existere in loco in quo existit aliud est penetrasse. Ergo Pressio est conatus penetrationis. Sed haec a Te, Vir Magne exactius dijudicabuntur, quo in examinandis demonstrationibus nemo facilè accuratior. Quid vero de CII. VV. Hugenij et Wrenni circa motum theorematis⁹ sentis. quid de Mesolabo doctissimi Slusii?¹⁰ De Origine Fontium addam, quod succurrit: Tua est et acutissimi Isaaci Vossij de Origine eorum sententia, oriri ex aqua pluvia [> vel nivali] in montium cavernis collecta:¹¹ Et sanè magnam partem ita nasci largior; non omnes, cuius rei sequens non procul Moguntia experimentum non ita dudum captura accipe. Fontem quendam novum repertum dominus fundi perficere cogitabat. lubet igitur lutum [> omne] effodi, quo facto in arenam incidit, nullius sensibilis humiditatis, fons planè evanuit, mane locus vaporibus è sabulo assurgentibus oppletus erat, luto ergo rursum superjecto & solidato fons rediit. Qvod videtur confirmare sententiam Basilii Valentini¹² magni inter Chemicos nominis scriptoris vaporibus fumisque è terrae penetralibus surgentibus et fontes et metalla mineraliâque gigni: illas verò exhalationes ad continuandam naturae circulationem aëre (ex exhalationibus) et mari (è fontibus collecte) in terram redestillantibus matri suae reddi; Solis prius sulphure repetendi aliquando cum novam in terrae visceribus reactionem sive dislosionem fecerint, ascensus causa, impraegnatas. De caetero utinam post opera Tua edita spicilegium adhuc aliquod Meditationum Tuarum sperare liceat, praesertim cum non dubitem tot novorum experimentorum quot ab aliquot annis vestri alique sanè egregia produxere, plerorumque excogitatas Te rationes habere, quas non perire interest generis humani. De natura Mentis utinam etiam aliquid distinctius dixisses. Qvanquam enim rectè definieris sensionem: reactionem

permanentem,¹³ tamen, ut paulo ante dixi non datur in rerum: [> mere corporearum] natura reactio permanens vera, sed ad sensum tantum, quae revera discontinua est, novoque aliquo externo semper excitatur. Ut proinde verear ne omnibus expensis dicendum sit in brutis non esse sensionem veram, sed apparentem, non magis quam dolor est in aqua bulliente: at veram sensionem quam in nobis experimur, [> non posse] solo corporum

motu explican. Praesertim cum illa propositio *omnis motor est corpus*, qva saepe uteris,¹⁴ non sit qvòd sciam, unqvam demonstrata. Sed qvòdque Te nugis meis onerabo? Desinam igitur, cum illud testatus fuero, et profiteri me passim apud amicos, et Deo dante etiam publicè semper professurum, scriptorem me, qvi Te et exactius et clarius et elegantius philosophatus sit, ne ipso qvidem divini ingenii Cartesio demto, nosse nullum. Idque me unicè optare, [$>$ ut] qvòd Cartesius tentavit magis quam perfecit, felicitati generis humani in firmanda immortalitatis spe, Tu qvi omnium mortalium optime poteras, consulisses. Cui rei supplendae Deus Te qvam diutissime servet, Vale faveque

VIR AMPLISSIME

Cultori nominis Tui

Gottfredo Gvilielmo Leibnitio J.U.D. et Consil. Moguntino.

Mogunt. 13/ 23 Jul. 1670

[addressed:] VIRO AMPL^{mo} D.^{no} THOMAE HOBBSIO Philosopho in paucis magno

[endorsed:] 13/23 July 1670

Translation of Letter 189

Most distinguished Sir,

It made me extremely happy to learn (from a letter sent by a friend of mine who is touring England) that you are still alive and in good health, at your age; and I could not refrain from writing to you. If this letter from me is untimely, you may punish me by not replying: I shall be satisfied simply to have expressed my feelings towards you.

I think I have read most of your works, partly in separate volumes and partly in the collected edition, and I freely confess that I have profited from few other works of our age as much as I have from yours. I am not in the habit of flattering, but everyone who has been able to

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understand your writings on political theory agrees with me that nothing can possibly be added to the clarity of their arguments, which is so admirable when they are expressed so concisely. Nothing could be more well-turned or more consistent with ordinary usage than your definitions. As for the theorems which are deduced from them, some people hold fast to them and others misuse them for bad purposes; I think the latter has happened in many cases through ignorance of how they should be applied. Take, for example, the general principles of motion: 'nothing can begin to move, unless it is moved by another thing; a body at rest, however large, can be made to move by the slightest motion of another body, however small'.¹ If anyone applied those principles inappropriately to the physical objects we perceive, without preparing the minds of his audience by showing that many things which seem to be at rest are imperceptibly moved, the common people would pour scorn on him. Similarly, if anyone applied your conclusions about the state or the republic to all the bodies of men which are commonly given those names; if he applied your attributes of sovereignty to all those who claim the title King, Prince, Monarch, or Majesty; if he applied your theory of the complete licence which exists in the state of nature to the dealings which take place between all the citizens of various republics; he would, I think, fall far wide of your own opinions. For you recognize that there are many republics in the world which consist not of one state, but of many joined together by federation; and that there are many so-called monarchs to whom the rest of the population have never transferred their wills. Nor will you deny that given the existence of a ruler of the world, men cannot live in a pure state of nature outside all republics, since God is the common monarch of all men. So when some people accuse your hypotheses of licentiousness and impiety, they are wrong.

Having, as I have said, always understood your theories, I confess that they have kindled a great light in my mind; and, to carry this further, I am working hard with a friend² to construct a rational jurisprudence. For since I observed that the judgments given by the Roman lawyers in the Pandects³ were established with incredible acuteness and with a splendid style of exposition which is very similar to your own; since I realized that a large proportion of them were drawn from the pure law of nature which could scarcely be

demonstrated, and that the rest were deduced with the same degree of certainty from principles which were few but arbitrary (and mainly taken from the customary practices of the republic); I therefore formed a plan, when I started

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work on jurisprudence roughly four years ago, to sum up in as few words as possible (in the style of the old Perpetual Edict)⁴ the basic principles of that law which is contained in the Roman corpus, and thence to demonstrate its *universal laws*. There are, though, many things mixed in with them (especially in the rescripts of the Emperors)⁵ which will not consist purely of natural law; but these will be clearly distinguished from the rest, and will be counterbalanced by the great number of other principles. Especially since I dare say that one-half of Roman law consists purely of natural law; and it is well known that nearly the whole of Europe uses it, except where it has been expressly abrogated by local customary law.

My work on these matters (which is, I confess, slow and protracted) is sometimes interrupted by other, more pleasant studies: from time to time, like someone carried off into a foreign country, I am also in the habit of thinking about various problems in physics. I have sometimes thought about the abstract principles of motion, a subject in which I greatly admire the foundations you have established. Indeed, I certainly agree with you that no body can be moved by another body unless it is touched by it, and that once it has been moved, the motion it received will continue unless something impedes it.⁶ But what perplexes me in this subject is, above all, the fact that no clear reason has been given for the consistency or cohesion of things. For if, as you seem at one point to imply, 'reaction' is its sole cause,⁷ since reaction is motion in the opposite direction to that of an impinging body, if the impact does not produce any motion in the opposite direction, there will be a reaction even if there is no impact. This reaction, however, is the motion of parts of a body from the body's centre to its circumference; either the motion is not impeded, in which case the parts of that body will fly out beyond the body itself (which is contrary to experience); or it is impeded, in which case the reactive motion will cease, unless it is revived by some external means (of which you cannot give any adequate account). I forbear to add that it can scarcely be explained why any particular body at one physical point should endeavour to move from the centre to the circumference; or indeed how the mere reaction of the struck object should bring it about that the impetus of its reactive motion should be proportionate to the impetus of the motion with which it was struck, given that it is reasonable to suppose that a greater striking impetus would produce a smaller reaction. But perhaps these little doubts of mine are the result of not having sufficiently understood your principles.

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I should have thought that the endeavour of the parts of an object towards one another, or the motion by which one part presses another, was sufficient to cause the cohesion of bodies. For things which *press* each other are endeavouring to penetrate each other. Endeavour is the beginning, and penetration is union. They are therefore at the beginning of union. Now, when things are at the beginning of union, their beginnings or terminal points are united. When these are united or 'the terminal points are made one', they are, by Aristotle's definition, not merely contiguous but continuous,⁸ and they make up a single body which can be moved by a single motion. You will readily admit that if these speculations are in any way true, they break new ground in the theory of motion. It remains for me to show that things which press each other are endeavouring to penetrate each other. To press is to endeavour towards a place which has hitherto been occupied by something else. Endeavour is the beginning of motion. Hence it is the beginning of occupying the place towards which the body is endeavouring. To occupy a place which is occupied by another body is to have penetrated it. Therefore pressure is an endeavour to penetrate. But, distinguished Sir, you will judge of these matters more precisely; no one tests demonstrations as accurately as you can. What do you think of the theories about motion put forward by Wren and Huygens?⁹ And what is your opinion of the learned de Sluse's *Mesolabum*?¹⁰

I should like to add the following on the origin of springs. Your opinion (and the opinion of Isaac Vossius, that very subtle man) is that they arise from rain-water or melted snow which collects in mountain caverns.¹¹ I agree that a large proportion of them originate in that way—but not all of them. As evidence for my opinion I offer this experiment, carried out recently near Mainz. A new spring had been discovered, and the owner of the estate was planning to improve it. So he ordered that all the mud should be dug out, and when this was done he reached some sand which was not perceptibly damp; the spring visibly dried up. On the following day the place was completely filled with vapours which had risen up from the sand, and when the mud had been put back and packed in firmly, the spring returned. This seems to confirm the theory of a great writer on chemistry, Basilus Valentinus,¹² that both springs and metals and minerals originate from fumes and vapours which rise up from inside the earth, and that in order to keep up the circulation of nature, those exhalations are returned to their source by air and sea-water trickling down again into the earth—air having collected out of the exhalations, and sea-water out of the

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springs. And he believes that sometimes, when they have made a new reaction or explosion in the entrails of the earth, they are, because of their ascent, impregnated with sulphur by the effect of the sun.

Otherwise, I wish that we might hope to see some sample of what your thoughts have been since the publication of your works; especially as I am sure that since scientists in England and elsewhere have for several years produced such exceptional results from so many new experiments, you must have detailed explanations of many of them; and it is in the interests of the human race that your explanations should not be lost.

I also wish that you might say something more clearly about the nature of the mind. For although you have correctly defined sensation as permanent reaction,¹³ nevertheless, as I said a little earlier, there is no such thing as a truly permanent reaction in the nature of merely corporeal things. It only seems as if there is one, though in fact it is not continuous, and is constantly being aroused by some external action. So, in the last analysis, I suspect that brute animals do not possess true sensation, any more than boiling water experiences pain: the true sensation which we experience cannot be explained merely by the motion of bodies. Especially since, so far as I know, the proposition 'every agent of motion is a body', which you frequently use,¹⁴ has never been demonstrated.

But why should I burden you with my flimsy speculations? Let me stop, then, when I have sworn this; not only do I always admit among my friends, but also I shall, God willing, always publicly declare, that I know of no other writer who has philosophized as precisely, as clearly, and as elegantly as you have—no, not excepting Descartes with his superhuman intellect. The only thing I wish for is that you (who are more capable of it than anyone) may consider that task which Descartes started but did not finish, of strengthening our hopes of immortality, to the happiness of all mankind. May God preserve you, for that purpose, as long as possible. Farewell, distinguished Sir, and think well of

Your devoted
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law and Counsellor of Mainz

Mainz, 13/23 July 1670

[addressed:] To the most distinguished Mr Thomas Hobbes, a writer of great philosophical thoughts in few words.

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NOTES

¹¹ *De corpore*, XXVIII. 18; Vossius, *De Nili et aliorum fluminum origine* (1666), pp. 15–16. Isaac Vossius (1618–89) was a Dutch classical scholar and polymath; his works included treatises on the age of the earth, the nature of light, and the motion of winds and tides.

¹² The author of popular chemical-alchemical treatises in the Paracelsian tradition, which were first published in the period 1599–1626. Nothing is known of his life, but he is possibly to be identified with Johann Thölde, a councillor and salt-boiler from Thuringia (see the entry by Debus in *DSB*, and Partington, *History of Chemistry*, ii, pp. 183–203). His theory of the generation of metals and minerals appears in *Triumph Wagen Antimonii* (1604); see pp. 107–9 of the Latin translation by Theodor Kerckring, *Commentarius in currum triumphalem antimonii Basilii Valentini* (2nd edn., 1685).

¹ These are apparently summaries of Hobbes's position, rather than direct quotations.

² Hermann Andreas Lasser (see the entry for Leibniz in the Biographical Register).

³ An alternative name for the *Digest* of the Emperor Justinian: a collection of extracts from Roman jurists, arranged in fifty books and published in AD 533.

⁴ A collection of edicts, originally issued by the praetors of Rome, then codified under the Emperor Hadrian. It consisted mainly of announcements of various forms of legal remedy, and formulas for civil actions. See Lenel, *Edictum perpetuum*.

⁵ Interpretations of existing law, issued under the authority of the emperors, especially in the first three cents. of the empire. Some administrative decrees were also mixed in with them.

⁶ Leibniz is paraphrasing sentences from *De corpore*, IX. 7.

⁷ This possibly refers to *ibid.*, XV. 2, 'Quinto'.

⁸ This phrase seems to be quoted from *Physica*, 228324 (ἐν τα ἔσχατα), where, however, Aristotle is discussing continuity between two movements, rather than two physical objects. His argument about continuity between objects is presented in *ibid.*, 227a10–15: 'for I mean by one thing being continuous with another that those limiting extremes of the two things in virtue of which they touch each other become one and the same thing [...] This can only be if the limits do not remain two things but become one and the same.'

⁹ Christopher Wren (see Letter 199 n. 5) presented a short paper on the laws of impact to the Royal Society in Dec. 1668. Two weeks later Oldenburg received a paper on the same subject from Christiaan. Huygens, and sent Huygens a copy of Wren's paper in reply (OC v, pp. 317–22). Wren's paper was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, iii, no. 43 (11 Jan. 1669), pp. 867–8; Huygens's paper was published in *ibid.*, iv, no. 46 (12 Apr. 1669), pp. 925–8. Huygens continued to work on the theory of impact, and his findings on this subject were eventually published posthumously as 'De motu corporum ex percussione' (1703).

¹⁰ See Letter 182 n. 4.

¹³ This summarizes the argument of *De corpore*, XXV. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 7; X. 6.



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François du Verdu, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 190 [28 April/] 8 May 1671 François du Verdu to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (28 April 1671 – 08 May 1671)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 190 [28 APRIL/] 8 MAY 1671 FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS, FROM BORDEAUX

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 75 (original).

Monsieur

Je vous écrivis dimanche passé, et vous rendis grâces très humbles de ce que vous aviés eu la bonté de dicter du 5^{eme} d'Avril,¹ en reponse a celle de mes lettres que M^r Bernard² vous auoit renduë. Je vous dis Monsieur, dans cette lettre de dimanche Qu'a la reception de la vôtre, a la seule veuë de vôtre cachet que j'avois reconnu, j'avois eu vne joye très sensible. je vous en dis pour raison la peine d'esprit où j'avois esté des-long-tems de n'avoir point de vos lettres, [et? *page torn*] de ce que M^r Blaeu³ m'avoit escrit il y à tantot trois ans, que vous aviés esté attaqué de Paralytie, Et depuis, Qu'il n'avoit point de vos Nouvelles. Je vous disois en second lieu Que ma joye avoit redoublé Ayant trouvé dans votre lettre que graces a Dieu vous avés assés de vigueur d'esprit pour repousser les gens de delà qui se sont attaqués a vous; Je vous félicitois Monsieur, de ce que vous perseverés a soutenir genereusement le party de la vérité; Je m'assurois qu'on la trouveroit dans cet Écrit de Géometrie que vous medités a present,⁴ quelque paradoxe qu'il puisse sembler d'ailleurs. Et enfin touché de vos offres de me dedier cet écrit, mais touché de confusion, je vous disois tres sincerement Qu'après cette grâce si grande, Après cet honneur si grand que vous me fites de me dedier votre *Examinatio Mathematicae hodiernae* Et me donner par ce moyen vn temoignage si public et si autentique de l'honneur de vôtre estime; Après ma confusion très grande d'avoir si peu mérité de vous vn si grand honneur, je vous priois très humblement de n'ajouter point au poids de cette première obligation, le surpoids d'une autre [*obligation deleted*]

pareille. Mais vous ayant écrit cela dans cette lettre de dimanche, pourquoy vous l'ecrire icy derechef? le voicy Monsieur, ce pourquoy. C'est que m'étant survenu du Monde le dimanche comme je vous achevois d'écrire, je pliy ma lettre a la hâte, et mis la vôtre aussi a la hâte entre les plis de la miene, et le tout ainsi dans ma poche. Après-quoy ayant cacheté la miene le lendemain au bureau des Courriers, et l'ayant laissé mettre dans leur paquet,

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Comme je fus de retour chés moy, que je voulus revoir la vôtre, et la cherchay inutilement, M'étant souvenu tout d'un coup qu'elle seroit dans quelqu'un des plis de la miene, je retournay au Bureau, où trouvant le Courier qui aloit partir, je luy donay [pour *deleted* > par] Memoire, Qu'on me renvoyât cette lettre de Paris. Comme donc il se pourroit faire [que l'on *altered to* qu'on] vous l'auroit envoyée, et que trouvant la votre dans la miene vous pourriés trouver cela fort bizarre: je vous supplie Monsieur, Au cas qu'on vous ait envoyé la vôtre dans la miene, Ayés s'il vous plait la bonté de me renvoyer la vôtre. A Dieu ne plaise que je songe a vous renvoyer les lettres que j'auray receuës de vous; elles me sont je vous assure très cheres et très précieuses, et je les considère comme un thresor. Renvoyer a quelqu'un ce qu'il nous écrit est rompre comerce avec luy; Et bien loin de rompre avec vous, le bon Dieu le sçait si plutot je ne desirerois pas des liens encore plus forts, et une communication plus étroite. Je le prie de tout mon Coeur (le bon Dieu) qu'il vous continuë de ses grâces longues et heureuses années la santé du corps et de l'ame; Et vous demandant toujours un Exemplaire de ce que vous publierez Et sur tout l'histoire de votre vie quand vous l'aurez achevé d'écrire⁵ je vous supplie de me croire inviolablement

Monsieur
Vôtre très humble et très obeissant serviteur
du Verdus.

A Bordeaux le 8^e May 1671

[*addressed:*] For M^r Hobbes. At the house of my Lord the Count of Devonshire. Or at the house of Mr Andrew Crooke,⁶ Printer; lately At the Greene Dragon, In Paules Churchyard London

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] Monsieur du Verdus May 8. 1671

Translation of Letter 190

Sir,

I wrote to you last Sunday, and thanked you very humbly for the letter which you were so kind as to dictate on 5 April¹ in reply to the letter of mine which M. Bernard² had delivered to you. In the letter I wrote on Sunday, I told you what great joy I had felt, on receiving your letter, at the mere sight of your seal, which I recognized. The cause of my joy, as I went on to say, was that I had for a long time been troubled

in my mind by not receiving any of your letters, and by having learned from a letter from M. Blaeu³ nearly three years ago that you had suffered an attack of paralysis, and that he had had no news of you since then. I told you, secondly, that my joy had been intensified by learning from your letter that your mind is vigorous enough (thank God) to fight back against those English writers who have attacked you. I congratulated you, Sir, on your perseverance in nobly upholding the side of truth; and I assured myself that truth would be found in the work on geometry which you are planning at the moment,⁴ however paradoxical it may seem. And finally, touched by your offer to dedicate this work to me, but touched by embarrassment, I replied in all sincerity as follows. After you showed me such grace and honour in dedicating your *Examinatio et emendatio* to me, and thus giving me such a public and authentic testimony of the honour of your esteem, and after my enormous embarrassment at having so little deserved such an honour from you, I begged you very humbly not to add to the burden of that first obligation by imposing another obligation of the same kind.

But having written that in my letter on Sunday, why am I writing it all over again? The reason, Sir, is as follows. When I was finishing my letter to you on Sunday, some people arrived unexpectedly; I folded the letter up in a hurry, and in my haste I folded up with it the letter you had written me, and put them both folded up together in my pocket. Then, on the following day I sealed my letter at the post office and let them put it in their packet of letters. On returning home I wanted to look at your letter again, and hunted for it unsuccessfully; on realizing suddenly that it was folded up in my own letter, I went back to the post office. There I found the courier, who was about to leave; I gave him written instructions that the letter should be sent back to me from Paris. Realizing that they might have sent it on to you, and that you would find it extremely odd to discover your own letter inside mine, I beg you, Sir, to be so kind as to send your letter back to me if it has been sent to you inside mine. God forbid that I should think of returning the letters which I have received from you. I assure you, they are very dear and precious to me, and I regard them as a treasure. To return someone's letters is to break off relations with him; I am so far from breaking relations that, as God is my witness, I had rather have still stronger links and a closer communication with you. I beg him (the good Lord) to continue to favour you with long and happy years of good health in body and mind; and, still asking you to send me a copy of whatever you

publish, and above all your autobiography when you have finished writing it,⁵ I beg you to believe that I am, Sir, unshakeably,

Your most humble and obedient servant
du Verdur

Bordeaux, 8 May 1671

[addressed: see text]

NOTES

⁶ See the Biographical Register, 'William Crooke'.

¹ Neither letter has apparently survived.

² Unidentified.

³ Probably Pieter Blaeu.

⁴ This probably refers to *Rosetum geometricum* [...] *cum censura brevi doctrinae Wallisianae de motu*, which was published in June–July 1671.

⁵ Probably the verse *Vita*, completed in Hobbes's 84th year (i.e. Apr. 1671–Apr. 1672); but cf. Letter 180 n. 4.



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Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 191 26 November [/6 December] 1672 Hobbes to Henry Oldenburg (26 November 1672 - 06 December 1672)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 191 26 NOVEMBER [/6 DECEMBER] 1672 HOBBS TO HENRY OLDENBURG

R.Soc. MS H. 3. 20 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon).

Printed in *EW* vii, pp. 465–6; *OC* ix, pp. 329–30.

Worthy S.^r

In the last Transactions for September and October [> I find a letter] addressed to you from D.^r Wallis, in answer to my *Lux Mathematica*.¹ I pray you tell me that are my old acquaintance, whether it be (his words and characters supposed to be interpreted) intelligible. I know very well you vnderstand sense both in Latine, Greeke, and many other Languages. He shows you no ill consequence in any of my arguments. Whereas I say there is no proportion of Infinite to Finite. He answers he meant Indefinite; but deriues not his conclusion from any other notion [> then simply Infinite]. I said the Root of a Square number cannot be the length of the side of a Square figure, because a Root is part of a Square number, but Length is no part of a Square Figure, [> To w^{ch} he answers nothing.] In like manner he shuffles of all my other objections, though he know well enough, that whatsoever he has written in Geometry (except what he has taken from me and others) dependeth on the truth of my objections. I perceauē by many of his

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former writings that I haue reformed him somewhat, as to the Principles of Geometry, though he thanke me not. He shuffles and struggles in vaine, he has the hooke in his quills, I will giue him line enough, for (which I pray you tell him) I will no more teach him by replying to any thing he shall hereafter write, whatsoever they shall say that are confident of his Geometry. Qui volunt decipi decipiuntur.² He tells you that I bring but *crambe saepe cocta*.³ For which I haue a just excuse, and all men do the same; they repeat the same words often when they talke with them that cannot heare.

I desire also this reasonable fauour from you, That if hereafter I shall send you any paper tending to the aduancement of Physiques or Mathematiques, and not too long, you will cause it to be printed by him that is Printer to the Society, as you haue done often for D.^r Wallis. It will saue me some charges. I am

S^r

Your affectionate frend and humble seruant
Thomas Hobbes.

Nouember the 26th 1672.

[*addressed:*] For my worthy and much honoured frend M.^r Henry Oldenburgh Secretary to the Royall Society.

[*endorsed:*] M.^r Hobbes to Mr Oldenburg 26 Nov. 1672

NOTES

¹ Wallis's letter was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 7/87 (14 Oct. 1672), pp. 5067–73; *Lux mathematica* was Hobbes's summary of his mathematical controversies with Wallis, published in 1672. (On Wallis see Letter 75 n. 7.)

² 'Those who wish to be deceived, are deceived.'

³ 'warmed-up leftovers'; literally, 'cabbage which has been cooked many times', a variant on the proverbial phrase 'crambe repetita', meaning a repetition of old matters, an oft-told story.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Henry Oldenburg, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 192 30 December 1672 [/9 January 1673] Henry Oldenburg to Hobbes [from London] (30 December 1672 - 09 January 1673)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 192 30 DECEMBER 1672 [/9 JANUARY 1673] HENRY OLDENBURG TO HOBBS [FROM LONDON]

R.Soc. MS W. 2, no. 4 (draft). Printed in OC ix, pp. 374–5.

To M^r Hobbes

Sir,

I could not read yr letter of Novemb. ye 26th, ¹ wch came [not *deleted*] to my hands [but *deleted* > no sooner than] Decemb. 11th before ye R. Society, (as by ye Bearer's intimation you seemd to desire me to doe) it being very improper, in my Judgement, to expose so worthy a member of yt Body, [> as Dr Wallis² is, [reputed to be *deleted*]] by reading [> publicly] an Invective agst him. Yet I sent a Copy of it to [yt person *deleted* > ye sd Doctor *deleted* > him,] who doubtless had return'd an Answer to it [> some days since,] if ye first Copy had not, I know not how, miscarried, and I [thereupon *deleted* > *been*] obliged to send him another. To wch ye Doctor [saith *deleted* > maketh [now *deleted*] return to this effect,] That yt letter of yrs needs no [> other] answer [, and *deleted*] but this, yt, if [others think that his letter *deleted* > the generality of men vers'd in Algebra think his letter] intelligible, he is not troubled, [if you *deleted* > yt a particular man, not so versed,] understands it not. And as to yr expressions of [teaching *deleted* > having taught] him, I haue no mind to repeat his Answer, [to yt [word illegible] paragraph *deleted*] being [much *deleted*] far more inclined, if I were capable, to make you [two *deleted*] friends, than set you further asunder. Neither is ye R. Society willing to enter [upon *deleted*] into ye decision of the disputes betwixt you, having regard to yr age, and esteeming yr parts, but doubting you [are in a mistake there *deleted* > doe mistake in these controversies]. Howeuer, I am ready to comply wth your

desires in yt particular, wch concerns ye publication of [what *deleted* > *such*] papers, you shall send me tending to ye advancemt of Physiques and Mathematiques, [yt are *deleted* > as are] not too long, nor interwoven wth personal reflexions; [and crinations *deleted* > in a word, yt shall be licensed by ye] Council of ye R. S. [or by ye President thereof in their name *deleted*] I am Sir

yr aff[ectionate]³ friend and h[umble]⁴ serut
H. Oldenburg

Dec, 30. 1672.

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Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 193 1 [11] February 1673 Hobbes to Josiah Pullen, from London (01 February 1673 - 11 February 1673)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 193 1 [11] FEBRUARY 1673 *HOBBS TO JOSIAH PULLEN, FROM LONDON*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fo. 8^r (transcript in the hand of John Aubrey); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 204^r (transcript); R.Soc. MS 83, p. 95 (transcript, in the hand of Sir George Ent).

Printed in ABL i, pp. 377–8.

For my much honored freind M^r Josias Pullen Vice-Principall of Magdalen Hall in Oxon.

Honour'd S^r

I understand by a letter from Mr Aubrey that you desire to have the bookes I have published, to put them in¹ the Library of Magdalen hall.² I have here sent them you, and very willingly, as being glad of the occasion. For I assure you that I owe so much honour and respect to that Society, y^t I would have sent them, and desired to have them accepted long agoe, if I could have donne it as decently as now that yu have assured me that your selfe and some others of your house have a good opinion of them, so that though the house refuse them they are not lost. You know how much they have been decryed by Dr Wallis³ & others of the greatest sway in the Vniversity; and therfore to offer them to any Colledge or Hall had been a greater signe of humility [*word deleted*] than I have yet attained to. For your owne civility in approving them I give you many thanks, and remain

S^r

y^r most humble servant

Tho: Hobbes

1672 London. Febr. 1st.

NOTES

¹ into *Egerton*.

² *Opera philosophica*. This presentation copy is preserved as Hertford College, Oxford, (B) C. 1. 13, 14.

³ See Letter 75 n. 7.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Josiah Pullen, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 194 10 [20] November 1673 Josiah Pullen to Hobbes, from Oxford (10 November 1673 – 20 November 1673)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 194 10 [20] NOVEMBER 1673 *JOSIAH PULLEN TO HOBBS, FROM OXFORD*

BL MS Add, 32553, fo. 36 (original).

Honoured Sir,

your incomparable works, (in 3 vol; 4^{to}),¹ conveyed by M^r Crookes² direction, together with your obliging letter,³ came safe to my hands; I then desired Mr Crooke to certify you of the receipt of them, as also to returne the thanks of the whole society, both Principall,⁴ and scholars for your noble respects, and bounty therein: nothing but your own goodnesse, can excuse so late an addresse; but the expectation of a better oppertunity to expresse our acknowledgments, then a post Letter, (wherwith I am now befreinded) will, I presume, something mitigate your deserved displeasure, and lessen the, otherwise, seeming neglect. The Gentlemen, (who out of [> theyr own] ambition to wayt upon you, as well as our desin,) are, one a D^r, the other a Bacch: of Laws of Magd: Hall, if not a sufficient apology for my so long silence, yet able to make one for mee, your books are put into our Library, where they [> will] remayne as a monument of your respects to our house, as well as of y^r learning, famously knowne all Europe ouer; and wt euer the sence of other persons is either of your person or writings, you haue giuen a whole society oppertunity to instruct themselues in the latter, condemned more frequently, then understood; and obliged them to entertayne a worthy opinion of the former, especially

Sir

your most humble and most obliged seruant,
Josiah Pullen.

Magd: Hall, Oxon. Nov. 10. 1673.

NOTES

¹ See Letter 193 n. 2. The book is now bound as two volumes. It was recorded in the Magdalen Hall benefactors' book as ';opera latine 3 Vol 4^{to}.' (Hertford College, Oxford, MS 2/4/2, p. 62), but had been re-bound as two volumes by the time of the early 18th-cent. library catalogue (Hertford College, Oxford, MS 2/4/3), which lists Hobbes, 'Opera 4^{to}. K 18, 19'.

² Probably William Crooke.

³ Letter 193.

⁴ James Hyde (1617–94), Regius Professor of Medicine and Principal of Magdalen Hall from 1662.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 195 [1674?] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Hobbes, from Paris (1674)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 195 [1674?] GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ TO HOBBS, FROM PARIS

NLH MS L Br 408 (draft).

Printed in Guhrauer, *Leibnitz*, ii, pp. 65–7; Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, vii, p. 572; Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, Briefwechsel, philosophische Reihe, i, pp. 244–5.

Illustri Viro THOMAE HOBBSIO

Gottfredus Gvlielmus Leibnitius

Non tam miraberis credo, Vir Clarissime, compellari [ad *deleted*] Te ab ignoto, suetus ad omnia humanitatis officia; qvàm à me, id est quando nulla alia re Tibi cognitus sum, ab harum literarum autore qvas non diffiteor rudes, neque Te dignas: addo et festinatas, qvod non [diffitebitur *deleted* > negabit] lator earum, vir optimus, qui eodem mecum hospitio Parisiis aliquandu usus, pridie abitus sui inter coenandum rogavit haberemne aliquid perferendum ad TE, nam aliquoties jam ante Tuum nomen inter nos frequentatum erat, multo cum honore, quem virtutibus Tuis deberi constat. Ego eo velut ictu excitatus, cum ille praesertim professus esset, notitiam tecum jam à multo tempore contraetam, impetum scribendi de improvviso sumsi, de quo prout videbitur statues, nam si notitiam meam rejicis, non vitabis cultum.

Equidem diu est qvod scripta tua versavi, digna TE, qui primus illam accuratam disputandi ac demonstratandi rationem, veteribus velut per transennam inspectam, in civilis scientiae clara luce posuisti: sed in libello de Cive Teipsum superasse videris, iis rationum nervis, eo sententiarum pondere, ut saepe oracula potius reddere, qvàm dogmata tradere credi possis. Ego, quem neque paradoxa deterrent, neque novitatis illecebrae abripiunt, credidi operae

pretium me facturum, si ipsas fibras interiores doctrinae tuae radicitus scrutarer: neque enim ad conclusiones resistere meum est, neglectis demonstrationibus, quibus ab auctore muniuntur.

Principio igitur à naturae humanae contemplatione orsus, illud observas non hominibus minus quàm bestiis impetum quendam [*> esse*] in obvia quaeque appetita involandi: hanc *spem* solo *metu* frenari, quem facere possunt tot aliorum concurrentes in idem vires. Nam cùm illud posuisses id cuique [*justum deleted > jus*] esse, quod necessarium factu videatur ad incolumitatem tutandam, [*inde tam? deleted > et*] unumquemque necessitatum suarum iudicem statuisses,

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facile conclusisti, justum omnibus in omnes bellum eo rerum statu consecuturum, Quod cum internecinum [*sit deleted > esset*] futurum, ea virium paritate, [*ubi deleted > ut*] fortissimus à [*robustissimo deleted > debilissimo*] occidi possit, inde [*word deleted*] pacis consilia agitari coepta,¹ [dèque ejus securitate praesertim cogitatum Sed frustra erat inire pacem, aut in foedere consentire; *deleted*] Hactenus nihil habeo quod resistam: neque enim illud objiciam ferendas potius huius vitae injurias, quàm periculo futurae repellendas; quaeque alia Theologi ac Iurisconsulti in TE congesse: satis enim video demonstrationes tuas esse, ut in Geometria, universales et à materia abstractas; quare cum [*jus cuique esse deleted > etsi cuique ius tribuas*] Faciendi quidvis tuendi sui causa, non [*diffiteris deleted > negas*], si quis sit Omnipotens, si qua futura vita praemiis poenisque destinata non tam [*demonstrara? deleted*] veritatem theorematum desiisse, quàm applicationem cessare; incolumitatem enim cuiusque his positis in vitae melioris expectatione sitam et justum fore, quicquid cuique ad earn obtinendam utile videatur: denique neque huius vitae defensionem jure divino denegatam, etsi desinat in ea consistere summa rerum.

Illud ergo nunc quaerendum est, qua ratione pax inita firmetur, nam si nulla est pacis Securitas, restat status belli, et jus cuilibet adversarium occupandi. In eum ergo usum Respublicas ais inventas, quae mutuo complurium consensu armatae, tutos omnes praestare possint.² Etsi autem videaris asserere, jus omne à subditis in [*eos translatum, quorum voluntate summa obe deleted*] Rempublicam translatum; rectè tamen alibi agnoscis, etiam in Republica jus restare consulendi rebus suis, ubi perniciè metus sive in Republica, sive ab ipsa Republica immineat: [*tantùm illud requiris ad deleted*] quare si quis [*word deleted*] jussu eorum penes quos rerum summa est ad [*poena deleted*] supplicium trahatur, jus ipsi utique esse, miscendi ima summis, [*ut dummodo? deleted*] salutis causa;³ sed caeteros ex vi primi pacti quietem rectoribus debere. Sed quaeso TE VIR Clarissimè, nonne fateberis non minus in Republica, quàm in statu illo rudi, quem naturalem vocas, suspicionem [*> validam*] periculi ingentis justam esse praeveniendi mali causam. [Ergo si quando satis apparebit Rectores potestate abusos ad innocentium *deleted*] Qvodsi ergo manifestè appareat innocentes

plecti, si saepe si indiscriminatim saeviat tyrannis; non diffiteberis opinor, jus esse ex tuae quoque philosophiae decretis, coeundi in foedera illis qui periculo propinqui videntur. Nam illud Tibi facile assentior, plebem promiscuam, rectius facturam, dum vivere commodè liceat, si indignationi suae, aut miserationi, aliisque [word deleted] animi

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motibus extra metum posthabeat quietem suam.⁴ Quare summa eorum omnium quae de summa potestate tute concludis, huc redire videtur: in Republica, neque tam facile neque ob suspensiones tam leves abrumpendum foedus, quoniam major in ea Securitas praestetur. At major longè Christianorum veterum patientia fuit, qui quondam ut ita dicam irresistibilitatem tribuebant Reipublicae.

Translation of Letter 195

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to that distinguished man Thomas Hobbes

Distinguished Sir,

As you are familiar with all the courtesies of human life, you will be surprised less by the fact of being accosted by someone unknown to you than by the fact that it is I who am accosting you—I, that is, who am known to you only as the author of this letter, which I confess is unpolished and unworthy of you. It was also written in a hurry, as can be confirmed by the person who brings it, an excellent man, who, having stayed for a while in the same lodgings as me in Paris, asked me at dinner-time on the eve of his departure whether I had anything to deliver to you. (On several previous occasions your name had cropped up in our conversations, mentioned with much honour—as befits your great qualities.) Excited by that suggestion as if struck by a blow (especially since he had told me that he had known you a long time), I suddenly rushed to write to you; you must be the judge of the result, and though you may reject my acquaintance, you will not escape my devotion.

Indeed, I have been mulling over your writings for a long time. They are worthy of our age, and worthy of you, who were the first person to place the correct method of argument and demonstration (which had been looked at by the Ancients as if through a lattice window) in the clear light of political philosophy. But in your little book *De cive* you seem to have surpassed yourself in the strength of your reasoning and the weight of your opinions, so that one might think you were giving the pronouncements of an oracle rather than handing down the theories of a teacher, I, who am neither put off by paradoxes, nor carried away by the charms of novelty, thought I could decide the value of your work if I examined the inner fibres of your doctrine down to their very roots; for I am not in the habit of rejecting an author's conclusions without looking at the demonstrations which he uses to support them.

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At the outset, therefore, having begun with the study of human nature, you observe that there is, in men just as much as in animals, a certain urge to pursue every immediate object of desire, and that this hope is checked only by the fear which can arise from the fact that the efforts of so many other people are directed at the same object. And, since you assumed that each person has the right to do whatever may seem necessary for the preservation of his own safety, and as you decided that everyone must be the judge of his own needs, it was easy for you to conclude that in that state of affairs a just war would be waged by all against all. And since that war would involve general slaughter, because of the equality of people's forces (given that the strongest man can be killed by the weakest), the arguments for peace began to be raised at that point.¹ Thus far I have no complaints; for I shall not make the objection that we should suffer the injuries of this life rather than endanger our chances in the next life by opposing them, nor any of the other objections which theologians and lawyers have hurled at you, I can see clearly enough that your demonstrations, like those of geometry, are universal and abstracted from the matter which they deal with; so that even though you give each person the right to do anything for the sake of his own preservation, you do not deny that if there is some omnipotent being, and if there is some future life in which rewards and punishments will be issued, the consequence would be not so much that your theories had ceased to be true, as that that particular application of them had ceased to be valid. For under those conditions the well-being of each person would be dependent on his expectation of that better life; and it would be just for him to do whatever he thought was conducive towards it. In short, it is not that the defence of this life would be ruled out by divine law, but merely that it would cease to be the thing of ultimate importance.

The next question is, how can that peace, once started, be made secure? For if there is no security of peace, the state of war will remain, and each person will retain the right to strike the first blow at his opponent. It was for that purpose, you say, that states were invented, which, armed with the mutual consent of a good many people, can take responsibility for keeping everyone safe² However, even though you seemed to assert that every right was transferred from the subjects to the state, you correctly observe

elsewhere that even in the state one retains the right to look after one's own interests, when one is threatened by the fear of destruction, either in the state, or by the state itself. So that if someone's execution is ordered by those who exercise

.....
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sovereign power, he still has the right to turn the world upside-down for the sake of his preservation;³ whereas the other subjects owe their rulers obedience by the force of their original agreement. But will you not agree, most distinguished Sir, that a strong suspicion of great danger will justify taking preventive action against harm, in the state just as much as in that uncultured condition which you call the state of nature? For if it is obvious that innocent people are being punished, if a tyrant is frequently and indiscriminately venting his rage, I think you will not deny that even on your philosophical principles, people who see danger approaching will have the right to join together in alliances. I can easily agree with you that the common people would act more correctly if, so long as it remained possible to lead a decent life, it valued its own tranquillity more highly than its indignation, or pity, or any other emotion except fear.⁴ For I think that all the conclusions which you correctly draw about sovereignty can be summed up as follows: in the state, the covenant between the people must not be broken lightly or on any slight suspicions, since a great degree of safety is guaranteed by it. But the early Christians were more longsuffering, since they attributed an irresistibility, so to speak, to the state.

NOTES

This letter was sent to Henry Oldenburg (to be forwarded to Hobbes) by Leibniz's patron, Johann Christian von Boineburg, on [16/] 26 July 1670 (see OC xiii, p. 422), The transcript contained in the same MS is annotated 'A copy of a letter to Mr Hobbes, which had not been sealed, and was enclosed in my own letter' ('Apographum literarum scriptarum Dn. Hobbesio, quae obsignatae non fuerunt, et mets inclusae'): this annotation is in Oldenburg's hand, though the transcript itself is not. The fact that the original survives with the transcript suggests that it was never delivered to Hobbes. (See also the general note to Letter 195.)

¹ *De cive*, I. 6–16; II. 1–2.

² *Ibid.*, V–VI.

³ *Leviathan*, pp. 70, 111–12.

⁴ The literal sense of Leibniz's words is the opposite: 'valued its own tranquillity less highly ...'. I assume that in his haste Leibniz inveterated the use of the accusative and dative for the direct and indirect objects in the construction with 'posthabere'.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

François du Verdus, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 196 [25 February/] 7 March 1674 François du Verdus to Hobbes, from Bordeaux (25 February 1674 - 07 March 1674)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 196 [25 FEBRUARY/] 7 MARCH 1674 *FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS TO HOBBS, FROM BORDEAUX*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 77 (original).

Monsieur,

Je louë Dieu de tout mon Coeur de Ce qu'il luy plait de vous continuër toujours a Ce grand âge ou vous estes cette grande vigueur d'esprit et Cette grande force de jugement que vous montrés toujours en public par vos très beaus et tres excellens Ouvrages. Vous voyés bien que je vous parle de vôtre Principia Geometrica, dattè de Cette année icy, que je reçois pourtant sur la fin de l'autre. Monsieur Capel¹ vous fut fidèle, et a moy aussi: Car j'ay vû par l'enveloppe de vôtre paquet, Que vous luy aviés adressé Ce Livre pour moy, et luy aussi Il me l'ecrivit. Il en chargea le fils Aîné de M^r Kirby,² vn de ses Amis et des miens, que Nous avons de deçà; Et Ce M^r Kirby le fils m'ayant, fait, sçavoir qu'Il l'avoit, je fus le retirer de chés luy qui me le donna en main propre. Mais Ce que j'ay aimé sur tout, Ce sont les assurances que M^rCapel m'à données de vôtre part dans sa lettre de la Continuation de vos bontés pour moy. Je puis bien dire de vos bontés: Et C'est bien en pur don et en pure grâce que vous m'avés donné cette part dans l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces. Et Commant la meriter moy? Qu'ayje-pû faire pour la mériter? Et mesme a l'auenir que pourrois-je faire? Me voylà toujours a écrire Contre Ces Juges du Conseil des Dix³ que je pris a partie devant Dieu il y à tantot deus ans; Me voylà toujours en Litispandance Contre-Eus, et à donner toujours contre Eus pour cette Litispandance des Déclarations par Écrit⁴ a estre mises au Pied du Throne Souverain de la Très grande Misericorde du vray Dieu. L'Instance à pour Titre Ces

paroles: Pour le pupille en oppression du Pseaume quatre-vints-vnième, Contre les Juges de Ce Pseaume et les Gouverneurs de Lamuël⁵ du Conseil des Dix de Bourdeaux. Que le vray Dieu est admirable d'avoir fait tant de choses et si grandes pour faire découvrir comme Il à fait Cette grande Malversation de Ces Juges! Ce sont des familles particulières qui s'étoient saisies de Ce Throne, et qui y possédoient par héritage le Sanctuaire du vray Dieu. Le vray Dieu donc, le vray Créateur les laissa s'oublier jusqu'a ce point que d'y tomber dans tous Ces des-ordres; et dans la Guerre qu'ils m'ont faite dès mon entrée a la vie et dans tout le cours de ma vie, Comme étant le fils d'un de leurs proscrits:⁶ dans Cette Guerre si cruelle de leur part,

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où Il à toujours eu de leur part tant de mauvaise foy [> tant de lascheté; dans cette guerre si scelerate]; ou jamais les hostilités n'ont esté de bonne guerre ni les épreuves de bon jeu: dans Cette Guerre si scelerate de leur part, Dieu les laissa s'oublier jusqu'a ce point, que de s'y enfoncer Eus mesmes de leurs propres armes; Il les laissa s'oublier jusqu'a ce point que de se laisser prendre tous les Mystères sans reserve et comme vne prise de Guerre; Et Ce qui fut a Eus le plus grand et le dernier Aveuglement: Il les laissa s'oublier jusqu'a ce point que de s'acharner encore après tout Cela a vouloir en toute façon que je leur fusse amené comme un prisonier de Guerre, et encore qui se fût rendu a discretion et la Corde au Cou. Il falut donc rompre avec Eus, et eus mesmes Ils m'y [poussèrent *deleted* > forcerent] que je n'y eus pas seulement un seul moment de tems a perdre. Je les apellay devant Dieu, Je les pris a partie devant luy Au pied du Throne Souverain de sa Très grande Misericorde; Et j'ay pris Contre Eus pour Conclusions devant Ce Throne: Qu'il soit dit Avoir esté Mal décrété par Eus de proscription Contre Mon père; Mal procédé Contre mes Soeurs et Contre moy [Comme étant en *deleted* > En Cette pretendue qualité d'] Enfants d'un proscrit: Et proscription, et procedure, Et Incidans de Procedure, Tout Cela Cassé et mis au Néant; Et le Registre secret de la Relligion chargé a perpétuité pour la Très Grande Gloire de Dieu, de Ce Decret de Cassation: Et qu'il soit donné a Ces Juges des Commissaires du Throne le plus haut qu'il y ait dans la Relligion, et de parmy les plus belles Ames, a les rechercher de la Malversation et en informer, pour l'Information raportée y estre pourvû de tel Decret qu'il apartiendra. Voylà vne partie des Conclusions que j'ay prises; voylà vne partie des choses qu'il à pleu au vray Dieu de faire par moy pour reformer Ce grand des-ordre. Appliquerois- j' a ceçy le Texte, Sapientia Confortavit Sapientem super Decem principes Civitatis?⁷ Car au moins Ce *Decem* y vient fort juste. Ce qui fait que je l'y applique d'autant plus volontiers, C'est qu'il y à a l'original, super Decem principes qui fuerunt in Civitate: Car après toutes les Déclarations que j'ay données, je panche beaucoup plus a croire que Ce des-ordre n'y est plus: Et Toutefois Comme je l'y trouvay, Et que je les denonçay là dessus, Et qu'il importe a la Relligion d'y avoir ses seuretés pour l'avenir, j'écris incessamment là dessus tout ce qu'il plaît au vray Dieu de m'envoyer. Depuis mon Acte de Prise a Partie, en date du 15eme Aout 1672, j'ay donné Contre [> Eus dans le secret] de la Relligion et seulement a estre mis au

pied du Throne Souverain de la Très grande Misericorde du vray Dieu, premierement les deus Plaidoyers que je fis icy en public Cette mesme

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année là 1672 a la Chambre de l'Edit:⁸ Car je pris l'occasion qu'ils me fournirent Eus mesme d'y plaider en ma propre Cause, Moy qui n'avois jamais plai[doyé? *page torn*] qu'alors, qui n'avois point suivy le barreau, qui n'avois jamais eu la moindre envie, Et n'y avois seulement songé: Et je pris Cette occasion sur vn prétexte, rien que prétexte, Mais au fond pour aller protester Contre Eus en public En pleine audience et a la face de toute Cette ville icy, de pupille en Oppression du Pseaume 81.^{eme} J'ay produit aussi mes deus lettres a leur Homme du Systeme: Car c'est ainsi que j'ay appellé vn Esprit d'Illusion, qu'ils s'atandoient très follement qui [m'amenât *deleted* > m'entraînât] a leur Coupe-gorge, Et sur qui je pris de très bon jeu Et Comme vne prise de Guerre leur Engagemant des Victimes, J'ay produit vn In foliò du 25^{eme} Juin de l'année 1673 où est l'Histoire de la Proscription de mon Père et de sa Mort: puis deus in quartò l'vn du 20^{eme} Aout, l'autre du 20^{eme} 7^{bre} aussi de la mesme année 1673 où lon voit a l'vn et l'autre vne longue suite de faits, et plus raisonnés au second, a prouver d'autant plus la Malversation de Ces Juges; Et j'avois produit avant tout cela, Et j'ay produit encore parmy vn assés grand Nombre d'autres déclarations plus petites sur quelques Incidans qu'ils me faisoient en des Avanies a faire diversion: Tout cela écrit de ma Main; Tout cela de ma façon: Et maintenant Me voylà qui continuë deus in quartò, dont j'ay fait de l'vn six vints feuillets de minute, et de l'autre quatre vints feuilles-entières, de deus feuillets chacune; A quoy j'espère d'ajouter moyenant la grâce de Dieu encore vn autre In foliò Et les pieçes justificatives de tout cela: Car je ne m'y épargne point. O la grande Malversation que je trouvoy là! On auroit peine a la concevoir. Dieu veuille qu'elle n'y soit plus: Mais je me fie bien aumoins Qu'après toutes Ces grandes lumières et si particulières [qu'il luy à plu *deleted* > qu'il à plu au vray Dieu] de m'y donner; Je me fie qu'après Cette force dont Il m'à toujours soutenu, Qu'après tant de Miracles qu'il y à faits, vrais Miracles Miracles de Dieu, Et qu'Il m'à donné de prendre Ces Juges sur le fait de la Malversation: je ne fie donc que Ce vray Dieu y pourvoira pour l'avenir; je me fie que de son Throne le plus haut le plus élevé qu'il y ait dans Sa Relligion Il prendra ses seuretés qu'on garde a l'avenir ses Ordres. Sapientiae Confortavit Sapientem super Decem principes qui fuerunt in Civitate: Je me fie fort du bon Dieu qu'il sera vray de dire a la lettre qui fuerunt in Civitate; Et qu'au lieu de Ces Juges tres iniques du Pseaume quatre-vints vnième, au lieu de Ces Gouverneurs de Lamuël Ce seront a l'avenir des Gens fideles et vraiment justes et qui garderont les Ordres de Dieu. Louöns Cependant Ce vray Dieu de Ce qu'Il à

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voulu s'y servir de moy. Sapientia Confortavit Sapientiam super decem principes Civitatis: Louöns-le de Ce qu'Il à fait de moy Cet homme Sage de Ce Texte. Qui l'eut dit Monsieur, Que le vray Dieu m'eut choisy moy: Moy Ce pauvre fou au dehors, Moy que Ces Juges très

iniques avoient fait paroître si fou au dehors, Moy a qui Ils avoient fait faire par cette suite Continuë de sortileges et de Malefices Cette figure si folle par force, Qui l'eût dit que Ce vray Dieu m'eût choisy moy, après tout cela, pour faire de moy Cet homme sage de Ce Texte? Je l'en bénis de tout mon Coeur Je l'en beniray toute ma vie Et vous Monsieur Je vous adjure par Ce Dieu vivant et quiconque lira Cette lettre icy ou l'entendra lire, de m'estre témoins devant Dieu de tout Ce qu'elle contient; Je vous adjure par Ce Dieu vivant, Et quiconque aura Cette lettre en sa puissance, de la remettre entre les Mains des Anciens [dans *deleted*] de vôtre Eglise vous, Eus de [leur Eglise *deleted* > la leur], a estre mise devant Dieu au pied de son Throne Souverain de sa très grande Misericorde. Enfin je prie Ce grand Dieu qu'Il vous conserve en sa sainte grâce longues et heureuses années et vous vous comble de tous ses dons: Car je suis [très *deleted* > toujours très] sincerement avec vn très profond respect

Monsieur
Vôtre très humble Et très obeissant serviteur
du Verdus.

A Bordeaux le 7^e Mars 1674.

[*addressed:*] For M^r Hobbes At My Lord The Count of Devon-shire his house London

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] Mons.^r du Verdus [May *deleted* > March] 7.th 1674

Translation of Letter 196

Sir,

I praise God with all my heart for the fact that, at your great age, he is still pleased to preserve the great strength of mind and force of judgement which you have, and which you still publicly display in your very fine and very excellent works. You will of course realize that I refer to your *Principia et problemata*, which is dated this year, but which I received at the end of last year. Mr Capell¹ was faithful to you, and to

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me as well: for I saw from the cover of your parcel that you had addressed the book to me, and he also told me this in a letter. He entrusted it to the elder son of Mr Kirby,² one of the friends that he and I have over here; and when this young Mr Kirby had let me know that he had it, I went to his house to fetch it and he gave it to me in person. But what has pleased me most of all is your assurance, passed on by Mr Capell in his letter, that you continue to bestow your blessings on me. 'Blessings' is the right word for it; and it is pure generosity and grace on your part to give me such a share in the honour of your favours. How can I deserve it? What can I have done to deserve it? And what even can I do in the future?

I am still writing against those judges of the Council of Ten³ whom I accused before God nearly two years ago. My action is still pending against them, and while this is so I am still making written declarations against them,⁴ to be laid before the sovereign throne of the true God's great mercy. My suit has the title: 'For the oppressed pupil of the eighty-first Psalm, against the Council of Ten of Bordeaux, the judges of that psalm and the governors of Lemuel'.⁵ How wonderful it is of the true God to have done so many and such great things to reveal how the great malpractice of these judges was brought about! They are private families who had seized the divine throne, and had taken hereditary possession of the sanctuary of the true God. Accordingly, the true God, the true creator, allowed them to forget themselves to the point of falling prey to all these troubles. They waged war against me from the moment I was born and for the whole of my life, on the grounds that I was the son of one of the people they had proscribed;⁶ and in this cruel war against me they have always acted with treachery and cowardice, never adhering in this wicked war to fair play and the proper standards of war. God allowed them, while they were waging this wicked war against me, to forget themselves to the point of being drawn further into it by the force of their own weapons; he allowed them to forget themselves to the point of daring

to lay hold on all the divine mysteries, as if they were a prize of war. The last and greatest blinding of them took place when God allowed them to forget themselves to the point of trying with all their might, on top of everything else, to have me brought to them like a prisoner of war, to have me put at their mercy, with a rope round my neck. So I had to act decisively against them; they forced me to this by their own actions, since I did not have a moment to lose.

I called them before God, and laid an action against them before the sovereign throne of his great mercy. The articles of my indictment

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before this throne were that their proscription of my father should be declared to have been improper; that they had proceeded improperly against me and my sisters on the grounds that we were the children of a proscribed man; and that their proscription, their proceeding against us, and the particular measures they had taken in their proceedings should all be annulled and set aside; and that this decree of annulment should be entered in that hidden divine register which is kept in perpetuity for the great glory of God; and that God's judges, taken from the officers of the highest throne in religion and from the finest souls, should investigate these malpractices and, on the information they had received, should have the power to decree whatever might be appropriate. Those were some of my articles; those are some of the things which the true God was pleased to accomplish through me in order to reform this great scandal. Should I take the text 'Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city'⁷ as applying to this? For the word 'ten' does at least fit exactly. What makes me all the more willing to apply it here is the fact that in the original it is 'more than ten mighty men which were in the city'; after all the declarations I have made, I am much more inclined to think that the scandal has come to an end. However, since I found it out, and denounced them for it, and since religion requires assurances for the future, I am writing about it, incessantly, putting down everything the true God has been pleased to vouchsafe to me.

Since my original indictment, dated 15 August 1672, I have entered against them (in the secret court of religion, to be put only before the sovereign throne of the true God's mercy) first of all the two pleas which I made here in public in the same year (1672) at the *Chambre de l'Édit*.⁸ For I took the opportunity which they themselves gave me of pleading my own case—I who had never pleaded before, who had never prepared for the bar and had never wished to do so or even dreamed of doing so. I took this opportunity on a pretext, a mere pretext, but my real reason was that I wanted to protest against them in public, in full session, and in the sight of the whole city, as the oppressed pupil of Psalm 81. I also produced my two letters to their bogymen, which is my name for their spirit of illusion, which they foolishly hoped would lead me into an ambush where they could kill me; I made great play of that, and said that their demanding securities from their victims was like the seizing of plunder in war. I produced a folio volume, dated 25 June 1673, containing the history of my father's proscription and death, and then two quarto volumes, one dated 20 August 1673, the other 20

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September 1673, both expounding a long succession of facts (but with more arguments to connect them in the second), which gave still further proof of the malpractices committed by these judges. Before all that, and after it, I produced a fairly large number of other, smaller declarations concerning various points of law which they had raised against me in order to insult me and create a diversion. All these things were written by my own hand and in my own style. Now I am writing two more quarto volumes; I have written 120 pages of one of them so far, and 80 leaves of the other (with two pages to a leaf). To this I hope, God willing, to add another folio volume, together with all the illustrative documents: I am not stinting my labours on that.

What malpractices I have discovered! You would scarcely believe them. I pray that God has brought them to an end. After all the great and special revelations which it has pleased the true God to vouchsafe me, I am confident that since he has always supported me with such strength, since he has performed so many miracles—true miracles, divine miracles—and since he has enabled me to expose these judges for their malpractices, I am confident, I say, that the true God will provide for the future. From his throne, the highest and most exalted that there is in his religion, he will ensure that his commandments be kept in future. 'Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which were in the city': I trust in God that it will be true to say, literally, 'which were in the city'. And I trust that in future, instead of these iniquitous judges of Psalm 81, instead of the governors of Lemuel, there will be trustworthy and truly just men who will keep God's commandments. Nevertheless, praise be to the true God that he has been willing to make use of me. 'Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city': praise be to the true God for making me the wise man of this text. Who would have thought it, Sir: that the true God should have chosen me—me, seemingly a poor, witless fellow; me, whom those wicked judges had made to seem so witless; me, whom their unceasing succession of spells and curses had necessarily made to seem like a madman, Who would have thought that the true God would have chosen me, after all that, to make me the wise man of this text? I bless him for it with all my heart, and shall bless him for it for the rest of my life. And you, Sir, or whoever reads this letter or hears it read—I beseech you by the living God to be a witness before God of all that it contains. By the living God I beseech you to hand this letter over to the elders of your church (or, if anyone else gets possession of the letter, I beseech him to hand it to the elders of his

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church), to be placed before God at the foot of the sovereign throne of his great mercy. Finally, I pray to God that he should keep you for long and happy years to come in his holy grace, and shower you with all his blessings: for I am still, Sir, whole-heartedly and with the deepest respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

du Verdus

Bordeaux, 7 March 1674

[addressed: see text]

NOTES

¹ See Letter 163 n. 1.

² See Letter 170 n. 17.

³ This is apparently du Verdus's term for the *Chambre de l'Édit* (see Letter 67 n. 4). The *Chambre de l'Édit* at Bordeaux functioned between 1614 and 1679 (Boscheron des Portes, *Histoire du parlement de Bordeaux*, ii, p. 230).

⁴ None of the declarations, statements, etc. mentioned by du Verdus in this letter has apparently survived.

⁵ Psalm 81 in the Vulgate, 82 in Protestant versions of the Bible such as the Authorized Version, in which vv. 1–4 are as follows: 'God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods. How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah. Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked.' Du Verdus's reference to Lemuel is obscure; King Lemuel is mentioned in the Bible only in Prov. 31, which consists of advice addressed to him by his mother on temperance and the choice of a virtuous wife.

⁶ Other details of the proscription of du Verdus's father have not survived. The *conseiller* du Verdus who is known to have been excommunicated in 1602 must be presumed to have been François du Verdus's grandfather; François's father inherited the office of *conseiller* only in 1606 (see the Biographical Register).

⁷ Eccles. 7: 19

⁸ See above, nn. 3, 4.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 197 20 [/30] April 1674 Hobbes to Anthony Wood, from London (20 April 1674 - 30 April 1674)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 197 20 [/30] APRIL 1674 *HOBBS TO ANTHONY WOOD, FROM LONDON*

MS unknown.

Printed as a folio broadside ([London,] 1674) for insertion in A. Wood's *Historia et antiquitates universitatis oxoniensis*; reprinted in *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, pp. 123–33.

*Epistola Thomae Hobbes Malmsburiensis ad Dominum Antonium à Wood Authorem Historiae & Antiquitatum Vniversitatis Oxoniensis; inserenda ad pag. 444, 445. in lib. 2.*¹

ERuditissime Domine mihiq; Amicissime, indicavit mihi amicus noster communis J. A.² ea quae in Libro tuo de Antiquitatibus Academiae Oxoniensis addidit & delevit Doctor Johannes Fell³ Decanus Aedis-Christi in ea parte quae est de *Vita mea*. Nimirum ubi mihi tu Ingenium attribuis *Sobrium*, ille delete *Sobrio* substituit *Acri*. Quod quidem ille animo malevolo pro convicio posuit. Convicium tamen non est, & facile ferri potest.

Rursus, ubi tu Marinum Mersennum appellas Virum optimum⁴, ille nescio qua invidia, verba illa delevit. Sed contumelia ista non ad me pertinet.

Tertiò, quod ubi tu scripseras, *libellum scripsit de Cive*, interposuit ille inter *libellum* & *de Cive*, rebus permiscendis natum⁵; ut esset⁶ libellum scripsit rebus permiscendis⁷ natum de Cive⁸, ita manifestè falsum est ut eorum qui temporis illius notitiam quantulamcunq; habuerint, nemo illum aut ignorantiae aut maliciae non sit condemnaturus⁹. Liber enim ille editus est, Anno Domini 1642, quo tempore Bellum Civile per Angliam gereretur, ita ut rebus tunc permistis permisceri ab illo Libro non potuerint.

Quartò, ubi tu de Libro meo Leviathan scripsisti, primò, quod esset vicinus gentibus notissimus, interposuit ille *publico damno* ut esset vicinis gentibus publico damno notissimus. Deinde ubi tu scripseras *Scripsit Librum* interposuit ille *monstrosissimum*. Magna quidem fuisset haec injuria si ille aut Doctrinarum Judex idoneus, aut insigni aliqua eruditione domi vel foris notus esset.

Quintò, quae tu de moribus meis, de fama apud exteros, de beneficiis in me Regiis¹⁰, &c. tum verè, tum honorificè scripseras, delevit omnia. Et haec quidem magna tibi facta est injuria; quae tamen alioqui nocitura mihi non est (fama enim mea qualiscunq; est jamdudum

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pennata evolavit irrevocabilis) sed sibi¹¹, Academiae, etiam generi humano. Sibi,¹² propter turpitudinem, Est enim etiam in Inimicitiiis exercendis aliud alio inhonestius. Itaque Inimicitiae quidem injurias aliquando extenuant. Nam injuriae apertae Authorem suum ostendunt, sed furtivae quemlibet potius alium, etiam amicum, discrimini objiciunt. Academiae, propter eam quam inimicus habet in Academia Authoritatem. Generi deniq; humano, eo quod cum cognitum sit, tantum esse hominibus in alienas Historias Potestatis, nulla non Historia suspecta erit. Postremò, quod praeter sententiam tuam de *Operibus meis Geometricis* addidit aut delevit (cum qui hominem norint, non à sua ipsius cognitione, sed fide aliena locutum esse sciunt; & qui non norint, nomen ejus inter Mathematicos aliosve Eruditos nunquam¹³ audiverunt) movebit neminem. Nulla ergo causa est ut publicè cum eo litigem. Neque si esset, facerem. Scio apud omnes gentes, ex ipsa Civitatum natura, Civibus singulis datam esse Actionem Injuriarum (Anglicè *An Action of the Case*).¹⁴ Dic ergo quis Actor, quis Reus, quis Judex, quae erit injuriae compensatio? Si Actor ego sum, Reus tu solus eris, qui Libri hujus Author es. Potes quidem Actor esse tu, Reus ergo erit Decanus Aedis-Christi, cujus arbitrio (propter sumptus) Editionem, nimia bonitate tua permisisti. Fac autem Actorem esse me, & illum Reum, etiam Injuriae damnatum; quis erit Damni aestimator? Nonne duodecim viri, jurati quidem & legales (adde etiam) boni? Attamen inter Damna (nisi quae pecunia aestimari solent) verba non numerant. Nam Scholarium jurgia inter res serias rarò habent. Itaque scripto publico ulterius non contendam. Testimonia quidem amicorum amo. Convicia inimicorum parvipendo. Ex Antiquitatibus Oxoniensibus nomen meum (si libet) omnino expungant, laudabor tamen à maxima parte Academicorum qui nunc sunt, magisq; (opinor) ab iis qui erunt. Praetereà homini seni Offensarum venia utilior est quam ultio. Tibi vero, si tanti est, existimationem tuam & veritatem historiae vindicare non tantum licet, sed etiam laudabile est. Et siquidem ita tibi expedire visum fuerit poteris Epistolam hanc meam quibuscum volueris communicare. Si quod¹⁵ aliud consilium in hanc rem invenero antequam hae literae Tabulario tibi perferendae¹⁶ committantur, inclusum habebis ipsis literis. Vale.

Tuus

THOMAS HOBBES.

Londini Apr. 20. 1674.

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Translation of Letter 197

A letter from Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury to Mr Anthony Wood, the author of Historia et antiquitates universitatis oxoniensis; to be inserted between pages 444 and 445 in volume 2.⁽¹⁾

Most learned man and dearest friend,

Our mutual friend J.A.² has pointed out to me those things which Dr John Fell,³ the Dean of Christ Church, has added and deleted in your book about the Antiquities of the University of Oxford, in the part which is about my life. Indeed, where you described me as being of sober mind, he deleted 'sober' and substituted 'bitter'. He doubtless intended that maliciously, as a rebuke. However, it is no rebuke, and can easily be borne.

Then again, where you called Marin Mersenne an excellent man⁽⁴⁾, he—prompted by some kind of envy, I know not what—deleted those words. But that ill-treatment does not concern me.

Thirdly, where you had written 'he wrote a book, *De cive*', he inserted between 'book' and '*De cive*' the words 'destined to cause great confusion'⁽⁵⁾, making it⁽⁶⁾ 'he wrote a book, destined to cause great confusion,⁽⁷⁾ *De cive*'⁽⁸⁾. That is so obviously untrue, that no one who has the slightest knowledge of that period will fail to condemn⁽⁹⁾ him either for his ignorance or for his malice. For that book was published in 1642, when the Civil War was being fought in England—so that affairs were so confused by then that they could not have been confused by that book.

Fourthly, where you wrote about my book *Leviathan*, first, that it was very well known to the people of neighbouring countries, he inserted the words 'for the public harm it has caused', making it 'very well known to the people of neighbouring countries for the public harm it has caused'. Then, where you wrote 'he wrote a book', he inserted 'most monstrous'. That would be a very damaging remark indeed, if he were known to the public here or abroad either as a suitable judge of doctrines, or as someone of any distinction as a scholar.

Fifthly, where you had written (in a manner both truthful and honorific) about my behaviour, my reputation abroad, the royal⁽¹⁰⁾ favours I had received, and so on, he deleted everything. And that was indeed a great injury which he did to you; otherwise, however, it will do harm not to me (for my reputation, such as it is, took wing a long time ago and has soared so far that it cannot be called back) but to him,⁽¹¹⁾ to the university, and to the human race. It will harm him,⁽¹²⁾ because of its

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moral vileness. For even in waging feuds, some things are more immoral than others. Accordingly, feuds can sometimes extenuate the injuries they do. For injuries openly committed show who is responsible for them; but ones which are done furtively throw the blame instead on to someone else—on to anyone, even a friend. It also harmed the university, because of that position of authority in the university which my enemy holds. And finally it harmed the human race, in so far as once it becomes known that men have such power to interfere in other people's historical writings, no historical work will be free from suspicion.

Lastly, that which he added to, or deleted from, the judgement you gave about my geometrical works, will convince no one: for those who know this man will be aware that he was speaking there not from his own knowledge, but from what others had assured him, and those who do not know this man will never⁽¹³⁾ have heard his name mentioned among mathematicians or scholars of any other kind. So there are no grounds for me to take him to court. Nor would I do so, even if there were. I know that among all nations, by the very nature of political societies, individual citizens have the right to take an action for damages (what is called in English 'an action of the case').¹⁴ So tell me, who is the plaintiff here, who is the defendant, who is the judge, and what will count as compensation for the damage? If I am the plaintiff, you alone will be the defendant, since you are the author of this book. Of course, you could be the plaintiff, and the defendant would then be the Dean of Christ Church, to whose judgement (properly taken) you, out of your exceedingly good nature, submitted the publication of your book. However, if you make me the plaintiff and him the defendant, and if you also find him guilty of causing me harm, who will be the judge of the harm? Should it not be twelve men, properly sworn in, and (in addition) well versed in the law? However, words are not counted as inflicting harm (except for the sort of harm which is usually judged equivalent to a sum of money). For academic squabbles are seldom regarded as serious matters. For that reason, I shall not prolong this dispute in the public print. The testimonies of my friends are dear to me; but I accord little importance to the rebukes of my enemies. Let them remove my name entirely, if they so wish, from 'The Antiquities of Oxford': I shall still be praised by most of the scholars of the present time, and by even more (I believe) of those of the future. Besides, to an old man the forgiveness of insults is more

useful than revenge. For you, certainly, if it is of such importance, it is not only permissible but

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praiseworthy to vindicate your reputation and the truth of your historical work. And if indeed you thought it would assist you in that, you could communicate this letter of mine to whomsoever you wished. If I think of any⁽¹⁵⁾ other advice to give you in this matter before this letter is committed to the printer to be forwarded⁽¹⁶⁾ to you, you will find it enclosed in this letter. Farewell.

Yours,
Thomas Hobbes

London, 20 April 1674

.....
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.....
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NOTES

¹ 344, 345. 1674; *altered to 444, 445. in lib. 2. DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, OHC, OMC; altered to inter pag. 444. et 445 in lib 2°. OCC; altered to inter p. 444. 445. in lib. 2. O6; 444. 445. lib. 2. ejusdem Historiae 1681.*

² John Aubrey.

³ John Fell (1625–86) became a Student (i.e. Fellow) of Christ Church in 1643, but was later ejected for having served as an officer in the royalist forces. In 1660 he was rewarded for his loyalty and Anglican piety by being made Dean of Christ Church, DD, and royal chaplain. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1666–9. An energetic improver (both architecturally and educationally) of his college, he also zealously supervised the University Press. He became Bishop of Oxford in 1676. See also the entry for Wood in the Biographical Register.

⁴ Virum optimum *underlined in O6.*

⁵ rebus permiscendis natum *underlined in O6, OCC.*

⁶ esset, LW, O6.

⁷ libellum scripsit rebus permiscendis *underlined in O6, then line deleted.*

⁸ natum de Cive, *underlined in O6.*

⁹ condemnaturas 1674; *altered to condemnaturus DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, O6, OCC, OHC, OMC; condemnaturus 1681.*

¹⁰ Regis 1674; *altered to Regiis DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, OCC, OHC, OMC; Regiis 1681.*

¹¹ sibi, *underlined, and ipsi added marginally O6.*

¹² Sibi 1674; *altered to Sibi, DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2 O3, O4, O5, OHC, OMC; underlined, and Ipsi added marginally O6; hi. Sibi, 1681.*

¹³ numquam 1674; *altered to nunquam DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, OCC, OHC, OMC; the m only underlined O6; nunquam 1681.*

¹⁴ In a contemporary law dictionary this is defined as: 'a general Action given for redresse of wrongs done without force against any man, and by Law not especially provided for' (Cowel, *Interpreter*, s.v. 'Action upon the Case').

¹⁵ quid 1674; altered to quod *DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, OHC, OMC*; quod 1681.

¹⁶ *perferendas* 1674; altered to *perferendae DUL, LDC, LW, O1, O2, O3, O4, O5, OHC, OMC*; *perferendae* 1681.



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Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 198 24 February [/6 March] 1675 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from Hardwick (24 February 1675 - 06 March 1675)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 198 24 FEBRUARY [/6 MARCH] 1675 *HOBBS TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM HARDWICK*

Bowood House, Calne (Wilts.), Petty Papers, vi, 2nd series, no. 17 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon) (microfilm in Bodl., MS film dep. 937); Bodl MS Aubrey 12, fos. 166–7 (transcript); BL MS Egerton 2231, fos. 193–194^r (transcript).

Printed (from Aubrey's transcript) in Tönnies, 'Analekten', pp. 313–14; Reik, *Golden Lands of Hobbes*, pp. 177–8 (extract).

Sir,

I haue receaued your letter of Feb. 7. 1674. sent me together with S^r W^m Petty's Booke from Darby.¹ I would haue writen to him had I knowne how to addresse my Letter. I pray you remember my seruice to him, if you see him, and tell him that if I had seene his Booke before it went to the Presse I would not (as he thinks) haue hindred it, but done as the Society did, that is, vrg'd him to print it. For the doctrine is easy to be demonstrated. The last Chap: which is of Elasticity is different from the Principle which I haue taken for Naturall Philosophie; but I am of opinion that his Supposition is very true, and will goe a great way.²

As for that part of your letter, which concernes M^r Hookes³ desire, I pray you present my humble seruice to him; for I haue a great esteeme both of his good nature, and of his iudgment in all manner of Philosophic. And tell him first that I haue no Treatises of Philosophie or Mathematiques, but what are Printed. Which W^m Crooke only can lawfully Print, the Copyes being his Propriety. And though they were in my hands, does M^r Hooke thinke it fit that any thing of mine should passe through the hand of D^r Wallis⁴ that is not only no Philosopher at all nor Geometrician [> but also my enemy] or of any of his admirers? If I had any thing now in my hands towards the aduancement of that Learning which the Society pretendeth to, I could be content it should be published by the Society much rather

then any other, provided that they that continually attend the businesse, and are of the Society vpon no other account then of their Learning, either had forbore to do me iniury or made me reparation afterward. Do they thinke, that no body takes his Learning to be an honour to [them *altered to him*], but they? But what reparation can they make? As for the Members, I haue amongst them for the most part a sufficient reputation, and I hope I haue so of Mr Hooke; and amongst the Learned beyond the Seas a

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greater estimation then [*> the*] Society can suppress; but that is nothing to the Body of the Society, by whose authority the euil words and disgraces put vpon me by Dr Wallis are still countenanced, without any publique Act of the Society to do me right. So that I am not to be blamed if I vindicate my selfe by my own pen till it be done by theirs. If Mr Hooke consider this, I hope he will not take it ill that his Motion is not entertayned by me. This is all that I haue now to [*wright deleted*] write. If you would haue me answer your letters hereafter, I pray you send me word how I may addresse them as that they may come safely to your hands. I am

S^r
your most humble and affectionate seruant
Tho; Hobbes

Hardwicke. Feb: 24. 1674

[*addressed:*] For my much honoured friend M^r John Awbrey Esq. London

[*endorsed by William Petty:*] Feb.^{ry} 24.^o. 1674 M.^r Hobs to M^r Aubery

NOTES

¹ Aubrey's letter has not apparently survived; Petty's book was *The Discourse made before the Royal Society the 26. of November 1674. Concerning the Use of Duplicate Proportion* (1674; the dedicatory epistle, to the Duke of Newcastle, is dated 31 Dec. 1674 [/10 Jan. 1675]), Sir William Petty (1623–87), having gone to sea at an early age, was educated in France, England, and Holland, being registered at Utrecht University in 1643 and transferring shortly thereafter to Leiden. He travelled to Paris in Sept. or Oct. 1645, where, through an introduction from John Pell, he became acquainted with Hobbes and wrote out the fair copy of Hobbes's English Optical MS (BL MS Harl. 3360). Having returned to England in May 1646 he first worked as an itinerant doctor, then took the degree of DM at Oxford (1649); there he became a Fellow of Brasenose (1650) and Professor of Anatomy (1651). An inventive man with wide scientific interests, he master-minded the Cromwellian land survey of Ireland, becoming rich in the process. Petty was a founder-member of the Royal Society; he published several scientific papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, as well as some seminal works on economics and social statistics. Aubrey records that he had 'an high esteeme' of Hobbes (ABL i, pp. 367–8).

² The 'Appendix of Elasticity' (pp. 121–35) sets out Petty's atomic theory, in which atoms are of different shapes and sizes, but each atom has two motions: gravity (motion towards the centre of the earth) and verticity (motion towards the earth's poles, like a magnet). These forces, Petty suggests, interact with the 'bias' of atoms towards other atoms.

³ Robert Hooke (1635–1703), the son of an Anglican priest, matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1653, and pursued his scientific interests under the direction of John Wilkins, Seth Ward, and Robert Boyle. A man with an evident genius for the technology of experimental science, he was employed by the Royal Society as Curator of Experiments (1662–84, 1687–8) and was Secretary of the Society (1677–82). His most famous work, *Micrographia*, was published in 1665.

⁴ For the origins of this complaint see Letter 191 n. 1, and Letter 192.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

John Aubrey, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 199 24 June [/4 July] 1675 John Aubrey to Hobbes, from Gresham College, London (24 June 1675 - 04 July 1675)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 199 24 JUNE [/4 JULY] 1675 JOHN AUBREY TO HOBBS, FROM GRESHAM COLLEGE, LONDON

BL MS Add. 32553, fos. 37–8 (original).

Printed in *The European Magazine*, 34 (November 1798), pp. 307–8.

Sir!

I recieved your kind Ire of Febr: 24th¹ for w^{ch} I heartily thanke you, but goeing into the Countrey had not the opportunity to returne [> answer] till lately, S^r W^m Petty² acknowledged himselfe highly obliged to you: and would not be denyed the letter you sent me; by the copy whereof I now make this answer vpon my returne. Two days since I was with him, and he desires to be very kindly remembred to you, and alwaies asks for you with much affection. S^r W. Petties howse is in that street where Clarendon howse and Burlington howse &c:³

M^r Hooke⁴ remembers him very kindly to you, and thanks you for your love to him: and approves very well of your reasons, and [*two words deleted* > I know] that he has been as much abused by D^r Wallis as any one: he makes it his Trade to be a common-spye. steaks from every ingeniouse persons discourse, and prints it: viz from S^r Chr: Wren⁵ God knows how often, from M^r Hooke [*one and a half lines deleted*] etc. he is a most ill-natured man, an egregious lyer and back-biter, a flatterer, and fawner on my L^d Brouncker & his Miss:⁶ that my L^d may keepe up his reputation.

When M^r Oughtreds Clavis Math was printed at Oxford, D^r Wallis had the Care of y^e Impression: In y^e place, M^r Oughtred makes honourable mentions of severall ingeniose persons, and amongst others D^r

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Wallis, of whom he sayd 'viri ingenui, pij, industrij), in omni reconditiore literatura versatissimi, et in rebus Mathematicis perspicacis[']',⁷this the good old Gent: thought very faire, if not too much; but the D^r thought it not enough, but adds 'et in enodatione explicationeque scriptorum intricacissimis Zipherarum involucris occultatorum (quod ingenij subtilissimi argumentum est) ad miraculum faecilis[']'.⁸ This impudence of his extremely disoblighd M^r Oughtred of w^{ch} he has often complayned to the B^p of Sarum,⁹ & others that I know.

D^r Holder¹⁰ (now subdeane of y^e K. chapell) writt a booke of the Elements of Speech: and taught a gentlemans son that was deafe and dumbe to speake, who afterwards was a little while (vpon D^r Holders p^rferment to Ely) a scholar of D^r Wallis; vnder whom he forgott what he learn't before, y^e child not enduring his morose pedantique humour. Not long since in one of the Transactions (w^{ch} are also in Latin, y^e Silesian Ephemerides)¹¹ is entred a [> long] mountebanking panegyrique of the D^rs prayse for doeing so strange a thing, and never makes any mention of D^r Holder at all. D^r H. questioning Oldenburgh (who writes them about it; I happened then to be present) Mr Oldenburgh (though a great friend of [the *deleted*] D^r Wallis) acknowledged that the D^r Himselfe penned it every word. He was questioned for this at y^e R. Society, & 'tis ordered that acknowledgem^t must be made in the Transactions, for this abuse.¹² M^r Mercator¹³ has been severall times abused by him, and will shortly sett him out to the life in print [and so will Mr Hooke too *deleted*]. Sr Charles Scarborough¹⁴ p^rsents his humble service to you, and longs to see your Translation of y^e Iliads: and commanded me to tell you, that he very much admires that of the Odysseys.¹⁵ If I may serve you, be pleased to send to mr Hookes lodgeings at Gresham-colledge. S^r I wish you all happinesses and thus with my heartie thanks to you for all your favours, I rest

S^r

Your most affectionate and most humble servant

Jo: Aubrey

Gresham-Colledge London June 24. 1675.

[*addressed:*] These for his ever honoured friend M^r Thomas Hobbs at Hardwyck in Derbyshire

[*endorsed by James Wheldon:*] M^r Awbrey June 24. 1675

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NOTES

¹ Letter 198.

² See *ibid.*, n. 1.

³ That is, on the north side of Piccadilly.

⁴ On Hooke see Letter 198 n. 3, Hooke's early biographer, Richard Waller, recorded: 'His Temper was Melancholy, Mistrustful and Jealous, which more increas'd upon him with his Years. He was in the beginning of his being made known to the Learned, very communicative of his Philosophical Discoveries and Inventions, till some Accidents made him to a Crime close and reserv'd. He laid the cause upon some Persons, challenging his Discoveries for their own, taking occasion from his Hints to perfect what he had not' (Hooke, *Posthumous Works*, p. xxvii).

⁵ Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), the architect, was Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College (1657–61), Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford (1661–73), a founder-member of the Royal Society, and President of it from 1680 to 1682.

⁶ On Brouncker see Letter 113 n. 13. His mistress was Abigail Williams, daughter of Sir Henry Clere and separated wife of John Cromwell *alias* Williams. Her relationship with Brouncker was no secret: she was to be the chief beneficiary and sole executrix of his will (see Pepys, *Diary*, x, pp. 486–7).

⁷ ~' omitted in MS; 'a sharp-witted, pious, and hard-working man, very well versed in all literature of the more recondite sort, and perceptive in mathematical matters' (*Clavis mathematicae*, 3rd edn., 1652: sig. A5^V). William Oughtred (1575–1660) was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, from 1595 to 1605; he spent most of the rest of his life as an Anglican priest in Surrey. The most respected mathematician of his generation in England, he published his *Clavis mathematicae* (at Sir Charles Cavendish's suggestion) in 1631. On Wallis see Letter 75 n. 7.

⁸ ~' omitted in MS; 'and with an astonishing ability to unravel and explain writings which have been hidded and concealed in the most elaborate of cyphers—a sign of an extremely fine intelligence' (*Clavis mathematicae*, 3rd edn., sig. A5^V).

⁹ Seth Ward (see Letter 75 n. 8).

¹⁰ William Holder (1616–98), brother-in-law of Sir Christopher Wren, was a Doctor of Divinity and prebendary of Ely Cathedral (1660), Fellow of the Royal Society (1663), prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral (1672), and subdean of the Chapel Royal (1674).

¹¹ *Miscellanea curiosa sive ephemeridum medico-physicarum germanicarum*, published annually at Jena, Frankfurt, and Leipzig from 1670. An 'Appendix seu addenda curiosa' to the first volume was published at Breslau in Silesia (n.d.; probably 1671 or 1672) (see n. 12).

¹² In 1659–60 Holder had succeeded in teaching a 10-year-old boy, Alexander Popham, who had been deaf and dumb since birth, to speak. After a lapse of two years Popham had largely lost the ability to speak, until he regained it under John Wallis's tuition. Wallis's account of this case, published by Oldenburg in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 5/61 (18 July 1670), pp. 1087–97, omitted any mention of Holder's earlier tuition, and was followed by an ostensibly editorial comment (pp. 1098–9) which was in fact also written by Wallis. The failure to mention Holder was all the more surprising because Holder had recently discussed his tuition of Popham in a book which was printed by order of the Royal Society: *Elements of Speech* (1669), pp. 159–60. (The 'Appendix' to *Miscellanea curiosa*, i (see n. 11) included the 'Epistola D. Johannis Wallis' (pp. 11–20), translated from the *Philosophical Transactions* article, but also contained an additional note (pp. 21–2), which did draw attention to the publication of Holder's *Elements of Speech*.) In protest at Wallis's behaviour, Holder eventually published a *Supplement to the Philosophical Transactions* (1678), which drew a sarcastic reply from Wallis, *A Defence of the Royal Society* (1678).

¹³ Nicolas Kauffman or Mercator (c. 1620–87), a Danish-born mathematician and astronomer, and Fellow of the Royal Society (1666). He gave Aubrey some tuition in mathematics (see Aubrey's notes in OWC MS 4.9, entitled 'M^r Nich: Mercator's Lessons to me, which are a good Commentary on Mr Oughtred's Clavis Mathem.').

¹⁴ Sir Charles Scarburgh or Scarborough (1616–94), mathematician and physician. He had been a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (1640), but after being ejected during the Civil War he moved to Oxford, where he was befriended by Harvey and graduated DM (1646). After the Restoration he held various offices at the Royal College of Physicians, and was a Fellow of the Royal Society (1661); he was appointed physician to Charles II, and was knighted in 1669. Aubrey records that he owned a portrait of Hobbes and 'much loved his conversation' (ABL i, p. 369).

¹⁵ Hobbes's translation of the *Odyssey*, *The Travels of Ulysses*, was published in 1673; his *Homers Iliads in English* in 1676.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 200 14 [/24] August 1677 Hobbes to James Butler , first Duke of Ormonde, from Chatsworth (14 August 1677 - 24 August 1677)

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LETTER 200 14 [/24] AUGUST 1677 HOBBS TO JAMES BUTLER , FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE, FROM CHATSWORTH

BL MS Add. 28927, fos. 4 (letter) and 5 (enclosure; both original, in the hand of James Wheldon).

Printed in Aitken, 'An Unpublished Letter'.

My Lord

The enclosed is a Demonstration of what proportion the Circumference of a Circle hath to its Semidiameter. Tis breefe and clear, and the Diagramme not overcharged with lines. You may if you please shew it allso to Mr. Tollett,¹ who is a very ingenious man; and I should not doubt of his approbation, but that he is too well satisfied with the absurd Principles of D.^r Wallis, and takes his Method for Algebra, though it hath nothing in it of Algebra but the Symboles, whereby he hath falne both in his Arithmetica Infinitorum and his Mechaniques² into greater absurdities then ever proceeded from any mad [*page torn* ma]n in Bedlam, Howsoever shew it him; but I pray you let no body publish it [*as page torn*] his owne, out of a hope that the masters of the Presse will keepe it from being published as mine.

I haue written in Latine aboue 60 propositions of Cyclometry (whereof this is the first) and in Parchment,³ to be published (when the

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envy of my Adversaryes ceasing by my Death or by their owne) by some frend or other that loues the Sciences. But I haue past my Bounds. I meant no more but to send you the

inclosed, and wish your Lord.^{sp} and your noble company a good passage over the Sea, and a safe Arrivall at Dublin. I am

My honoured Lord

Your Lord.^{ps} most humble servant

Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth Aug: 14th 1677.

[*enclosed:*] To find a straight line equall to halfe a quarter of a Circle.

Construction

Make a square ABCD. Diuide the sides in halues at E, F, G, H. and draw the Diagonalls AC and BD. These lines will all meete in the Center of the square at I. Describe the Quadrantall arc BD, cutting [*mord deleted*] the line EG in K and the Diagonall AC in L. So shall BK be a third part of the whole arc BD, and consequently two thirds of BL which is but halfe the Arc BD: Therefore the arc BK is to the arc KL as two to one.

Diuide now the halfe Diagonall IC into equall parts at M and draw BM, cutting EG in O.

I say the straight line BM is equall to the Arc BL, because IB, and IC are equall, and IM is halfe IC, the line BI is to the line IM, as two to one. And because the Angle⁴ BIM is diuided in the midst by the line GI, which cuts BM in O. The line BO is to the line OM, as two to one, that is to say as the Arc BK to the Arc KL. Lastly, because (you know) the side BC is greater then the Arc BL, and the Arc BL greater then BI. A straight line drawne from B and equall to the Arc BL, will reach the line IC somewhere. But it cannot reach it in any other point so as not to outreach it but in M. For in no point else can the line GI diuide it into the proportion of two to One.

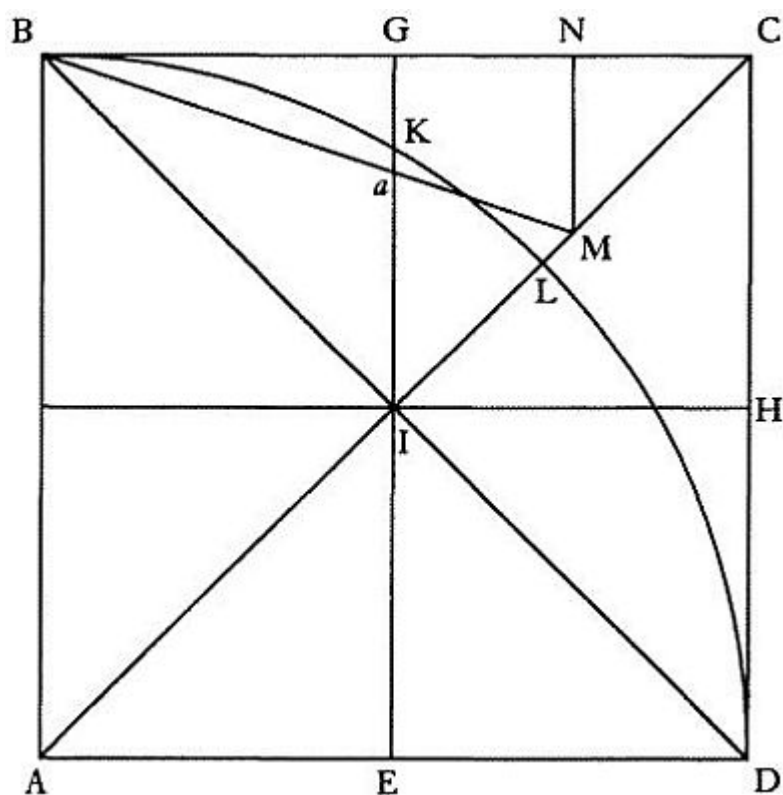
And if on BN you make an Arc to cut the Chord BL produced in I you haue LI the difference betweene the Chord and the Arc. From whence it follows that the square of halfe a quarter of the Circle, is equall to ten squares of a quarter of the Semidiameter. For MN is equall to NC and BN equall to three quarters of the Semidiameter, and the square of BN is Nine, the square of MN One and (by Euclide. 1. 47) the square of BM, Ten.

NOTES

¹ George Tollet (*fl.* 1675–1713), a teacher of mathematics in Dublin; he corresponded with Hooke about magnetism in 1675 and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1678. See Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, p. 270.

² Wallis, *Arithmetica infinitorum* (1656) and *Mechanica; sive, de motu* (1670); on Wallis see Letter 75 n. 7.

³ The propositions on cyclometry contained in Chatsworth, MS Hobbes A. 9 may be related to the MS referred to here, but none of them corresponds to the enclosure to this letter: it is a version of the proposition printed in *Decameron physiologicum*, pp. 133–6 (*EW* vii, pp. 178–80), from which the diagram at the end of these notes is taken.



⁴ = triangle.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Charles Blount, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 201 1678 Charles Blount to Hobbes, from Ludgate Hill, London (1678)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 201 1678 *CHARLES BLOUNT TO HOBBS, FROM LUDGATE HILL, LONDON*

MS unknown.

Printed in Blount, *The Oracles of Reason*, pp. 97–105; Myers (ed.), *Restoration and Revolution*, pp. 106–10.

SIR,

By your Permission, and Mr, *Crook's*¹ Favour, I have had the Happiness to peruse your incomparable Treatise of Heresie in Manuscript,² wherein you have certainly given us a more accurate and faithful Account of the Nicene Council,³ together with their particular Grounds and Reasons for each distinct Article of their Faith in the *Nicene Creed*,⁴ than is any where else to be met with. How grateful this Discourse of yours will be to the *Quicunque-Men*,⁵ I shall not presume to determine, since I am sure Mr. *Hobbs* is as much above their Anger, as they are below his Resentments. You your self have very well observed, *when Reason is against a Man, a Man will be against Reason*;⁶ and therefore 'tis no wonder to see, from several Interests, so many Opinions and Animosities arise: This made the *Arrians*⁷ and *Trinitarians*⁸ so zealously endeavour to supplant one another; this made *Constantine*⁹ at first espouse the Arrian Interest to Mount the Throne, as the present *Lewis XIV* did the Interest of the *Hugonots*; and afterwards thinking to weaken or at least to ballance that Power that raised him, strike in with *Athanasius*¹⁰ and the *Trinitarians* for a time, as our present *Lewis* hath since done the like with the Popish and [Jesuitical]¹¹ Party against his Protestant Subjects. For Mankind ever lived and died after one and the same Method in all

Ages, being governed by the same Interests and the same Passions at this time, as they were many Thousand Years before us, and will be many Thousand Years after us.

It must be confessed,¹² the *Arrians* were so powerful a Sect in the *Roman* Empire (especially the *Eastern* Part of it) that the Followers of the *Nicene* Council were not equal to them, either in Number, Splendor, Interest or Riches. If you will believe the learned *Petavius*¹³ and others, they did offer to be try'd by the Fathers that preceded the *Nicene* Council:¹⁴ For at that Council, they were rather condemn'd by a Party than by the general Consent of the Christian Church; because *Constantine*, out of above Two thousand Bishops then assembled, excluded all but Three hundred and eighteen;¹⁵ nor were those

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perhaps (for Accounts vary) all Bishops, that made up this great Council. They were all of a Judgment at first, and so rather Parties than Judges; the *Arrians* had not the Freedom to dispute their Cause: And the Emperor *Constantine* was afterwards so ill satisfied with their proscription, that he soon recalled *Arrius*, and a little before his Death was baptized by an *Arrian* Bishop. *Constantius*¹⁶ and *Valens*¹⁷ were professed *Arrians* (and not to mention the *Goths*)¹⁸ *Valentinian*,¹⁹ *Theodosius*²⁰ and other Emperors protected and honoured them, both with civil and military Commands.

The *Arrian* Doctrin was not only confirmed by Eight Councils several times assembled at *Tyre*,²¹ *Sardis*,²² *Syrmium*,²³ *Milain*,²⁴ *Selucia*,²⁵ *Nice*,²⁶ *Tarsis*,²⁷ and particularly at *Ariminum*²⁸ (where six hundred Bishops were of their Opinion, with only three which held the contrary) but they also punished others their Adversaries, who were of a contrary Opinion to them, with Confiscations, Banishments and other grievous Punishments. Now whether the Power of their Party, the Riches of their Churches, the Magnificence of their Worship (as the first that brought Music into the Church) or the fame of their Learning, and pretensions to Reason (which is always an invidious Plea) did raise Jealousie and Hatred in the Emperors against them, as also rendred them odious to the *Trinitarians*; or what most contributed to their first Depression and Persecution, I know not: Since to persecute for Religion, was by the *Trinitarians* (*Athanasius*, *Hillary*²⁹ and others) then accounted an *Arrian* and unchristian Tenet. It is not to be doubted, but that, after the days of *Theodosius*, Reason of State did most prevail towards their Subversion, lest they should joyn with the *Goths*, who at that time possessed of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Afric* and other Provinces, were formidable to the *Bizantine* Empire. Notwithstanding whatsoever it was, 'tis easie to comprehend that the Depression of them did facilitate the Conquest of the *Goths*; and if you will credit *Salvian*,³⁰ the *Goths* were very pious in their Way, mild to the Conquer'd, just in their Dealings; so that the Wickedness of the Christian Rulers of Provinces, their Exactions upon the People, and insolence of the

Foreign Souldiers, whereby they ruled, made even the *Trinitarians* themselves willingly submit to their Dominion, and prefer it before that of the *Eastern* Emperors.

As for the *Trinitarians* of those Times, I must confess, I cannot but esteem them as Enemies to all human Learning; for they had Cannons forbidding them to read any [Ethnic]³¹ Books,³² and a Zeal which disposed them to destroy all they met with of that kind. Thus we may

.....
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well suppose them universally ignorant, except some few; and as the Pastors, so were the People, Their Religion also consisted rather in an out-side Service, than inward Piety and Knowledge; their Faith was in a manner implicit, the Mysteries of Religion (for such I call the Doctrin of the Trinity and its Dependencies) were scarce ever mentioned to them in Sermons, much less explicated. Hence the Vulgar became prone to Embrace Superstition and credit Miracles, how ridiculous and fabulous soever: Visions, Allegories and Allusions to Texts, were convincing Arguments; and no Demonstration like to a feigned Story and Legend, or what might be Interpreted a Judgment upon an Heretic.³³

Amongst the *Trinitarians* were a sort of People who followed the Court Religion, and believed as their Prince ordained, living then unconfined by the Dictates of the then declining Church: And though the *Trinitarians* had resolv'd upon, and subscrib'd to the *Nicene* Council, and embraced those Forms of Speech which are now in use, yet they did not understand what was meant by them. The *Latin* Church allow'd of Three Persons, and not of three Hypostases; the *Greek* Church allow'd of three Hypostases, and not of three Persons.³⁴ As difficult was it for them to Explicate *Usia*³⁵ or *Essence*; which hard words produc'd a subdivision amongst them, consisting of *Nestorians*³⁶ and *Eutychians*.³⁷ The *Nestorians* believing the Deity of Christ, held that he was made up of two distinct Persons, and so perfect God and perfect Man, The *Eutychians* averr'd, that Christ had but one Nature, and that upon the Hypostatical Union, the Deity and Humanity were so blended together, by Confusion of Properties and Substances, that one Person endued with one Will did emerge thence. Now these two Sects were of great Power in the *Eastern* Church, and though they were both condemn'd in the third and fourth General Councils, yet did they spread far and near, through *Palestine*, *AEgypt*, the Kingdom of *Abyssines*, and all *Persia* over: Each of them had their Patriarchs, Bishops and Churches contradistinct from the *Melchites*, who adhering and subscribing to the Council of *Chalcedon*³⁸ (which all the Imperial Clergy did) were called *Melchites*, that is to say, Men of the King's Religion.³⁹ The Authors of the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Sects were Learned and Potent Bishops: *Eutychius* was Patriarch of *Constantinople*,⁴⁰ and with him joyn'd *Dioscorius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*,⁴¹ *Severus* Patriarch of *Antioch*,⁴² and *Jacobus*

Baradaeus,⁴³ from whom the *Jacobites* are at this day denominated. *Nestorius* was also Patriarch of Constantinople,⁴⁴ and his Sect very much diffused.

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The Truth is, such were the Ignorance of the People, and Debaucheries of the Ages at this time, that if a Man did but live a pious strict Life, with great Mortification, or outward Devotion, and were but an Eloquent Preacher, he might in any place of the *Eastern Empire* have made a Potent Sect instantly. And to shew how ignorant the Clergy were at the General Council of *Chalcedon*, in the time of *Marcianas*⁴⁵ the Emperor, we find that the *Greek* Tongue was then so little understood at *Rome*,⁴⁶ and the *Latin* in *Greece*, that the Bishops of both Countries (in all 630.) were glad to speak by Interpreters: Nay, in this very Council of *Chalcedon*, the Emperor was fain to deliver the same Speech in *Greek* to one Party, and in *Latin* to the other, that so both might understand him: The Council of *Jerusalem*,⁴⁷ for the same Reason, made certain Creeds both in *Greek* and *Latin*: At the Council of *Ephesus*,⁴⁸ the Pope's Legates had their Interpreter to Expound the Words; and when *Caelestine's*⁴⁹ Letters were there read, the Acts tell us, how the Bishops desired to have them Translated into *Greek*, and read over again, insomuch that the *Romish* Legates had almost made a Controversie of it, fearing least the Papal Authority should have been prejudiced by such an Act; alledging therefore, how it was the ancient Custom to propose the Bulls of the Sea Apostolic in *Latin* only, and that that might now suffice. Whereupon these poor *Greek* Bishops were in danger not to have understood the Pope's *Latin*, till at length the Legates were content with Reason, when it was evidenced to them, that the major part could not understand one word of *Latin*. But the pleasantest of all, is, Pope *Caelestine's* Excuse to *Nestorius*, for his so long delay in answering his Letters, because he could not by any means get his *Greek* construed sooner. Also Pope *Gregory* the First⁵⁰ ingeniously confesseth to the Bishop of *Thessaly*,⁵¹ that he understood not a jot of his *Greek*; wherefore 'tis probable, the Proverb of honest *Accursius*⁵² was even then in use,—*Graecum est, non Legitur*⁵³—and this was the Condition of Christianity in which *Justinian*⁵⁴ the Emperor found it, A.C. 540.⁵⁵ So that, as Monsieur *Daillee*⁵⁶ has demonstrated with how little certainty we can depend upon the Fathers, I think I may safely averr, there is as little Trust to be reposed in General Councils, who have been Guilty of so much Ignorance and Interest, as well as so frequently contradicting one another: And to say, that Councils may not Err, though private Persons may, is (as Mr. *Hales* well observes) all one as to say, that every single Souldier indeed may run away, but the whole Army cannot.⁵⁷

Sir, Your Treatise having reviv'd these Meditations in me, I hope you'll pardon me if I have been too prolix; and though I am not so vain

as to pretend to offer these Collections, or indeed any thing, for Mr. *Hobb's* Instruction, who is of himself the great Instructor of the most sensible Part of Mankind in the noble Science of Philosophy; yet I may hope for the Honour⁵⁸ of your Correction wherein I am Erroneous, the which will for ever oblige,

SIR,

Your most unfeigned Humble Servant,

C. BLOUNT

Ludgate-Hill, 1678.

[*postscript:*] Pardon, Sir, I beseech you, my sending this trifle, called *Anima Mundi*⁵⁹, being commanded to do it by one, whom 'tis my duty, as well as my happiness, to obey.

[*addressed:*] For Mr. *Hobbs*, to be left with Mr. *Crook*, a Bookseller, at the Sign of the *Green Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*, near *St. Clements-Church*.

NOTES

¹ William Crooke.

² Eventually published as *An Historical Narration concerning Heresie* (see Letter 181 n. 1).

³ The first oecumenical council, summoned to meet at Nicaea (modern Iznik) by the Emperor Constantino in 325.

⁴ The creed of this name, commonly used in the liturgy of both Eastern and Western Churches, is an expanded version of the creed issued by the Council of Nicaea.

⁵ Followers of the Athanasian Creed (which begins with the words 'Quicunque vult'), a creed apocryphally attributed to St Athanasius (see n. 10). It was used by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran Churches, but not generally by the Eastern Churches; it contains 'damnatory clauses' condemning heresy. Josiah King, an Anglican critic of Blount, commented on this passage: 'With what Contempt doth He here treat the Ecclesiasticks of the Church of *England*? These are the *Quicunque Men* that are here meant' (*Mr. Blount's Oracles of Reason, Examined*, p. 77).

⁶ 'As oft as reason is against a man, so oft will a man be against reason' (*Elements of Law*, epistle dedicatory); cf. 'men [...] setting themselves against reason, as oft as reason is against them' (*Leviathan*, p. 50).

⁷ Arians, followers of Arius (c.250–336), who denied the divinity of Christ.

⁸ This term, normally used for defenders of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity against the Unitarians in the 16th and 17th cents., is used here for the early opponents of Arianism.

⁹ Constantine the Great (274 or 288–337), proclaimed Emperor in 306, took a close interest in Christianity and summoned the Council of Nicaea. He was baptized shortly before his death.

¹⁰ St Athanasius (c.296–373), chief opponent of Arianism at the Council of Nicaea. Contrary to what Blount says here, he encountered more, not less, hostility from Constantine in the final years of the latter's reign.

¹¹ Jusuistical 1693.

There is no way of telling whether this letter was in fact sent to Hobbes; but the postscript and address strongly suggest that this is the text of a genuine letter, not a literary piece in spurious garb. Even if the letter was genuine, however, Blount's show of learning was not: a large part of the text of the letter is copied from Henry Stubbe's MS work, *An Account of Mohametanism* (see n. 12). (And, what is more, the passage plagiarized from Stubbe is itself a partial plagiarism (see n. 46).)

The text presented here is from CUL G. 12. 44, collated with Bodl. Tanner 448 and BL 851. e. 12 (siglum for all three: '1693'). A 2nd edn. of Blount's *Oracles of Reason* was published, with the same date on the title-page; one material variant is recorded here (from BL 1509/4684; siglum: '2nd edn.').

¹² The entire text here, from this paragraph to the sentence ending 'A.C. 540' in the penultimate paragraph of the letter, is copied from Stubbe, *An Account of Mahometanism*, pp. 42–6.

¹³ Denis Petau (1583–1652), Jesuit theologian and historian. Although Petau was an orthodox Catholic, his discussions of the influence of Platonism on early Christianity unwittingly gave support to the view that the early fathers were anti-Trinitarian; he was cited approvingly on this point by Socinian writers (see Hofmann, *Theologie, Dogma und Dogmenentwicklung*, pp. 234–5). Indeed, it seems likely that Stubbe's reference to Petau here is merely borrowed from a secondary work; Petau's own discussion of the convening of the Council of Nicaea (*Theologica dogmata*, ii, pp. 36–41) does not make the point attributed to him here. The source from which Stubbe seems to have borrowed many of the arguments used here is the *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* by the Socinian theologian Sandius (esp. pp. 138–282 in the 2nd edn. of 1676), which makes several approving references to Petau.

¹⁴ Cf. Sandius, *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* (2nd edn., 1676), p. 256.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁶ Constantius II, who reigned as Emperor of the East from 337 to 361, the second son of Constantine.

¹⁷ Valens reigned as Emperor of the East from 364 to 378.

¹⁸ The western Goths or Visigoths conquered Rome in 410 and occupied large parts of Italy, France, and Spain during the 5th cent. The leading Christianizer of the Goths was an Arian, Ulfilas (311–c.381), and by 400 the Goths were generally converted to Arian Christianity.

¹⁹ Valentinian reigned as Emperor from 364 to 375, naming his brother Valens co-emperor and resigning the East to him. He proclaimed full freedom of religion.

²⁰ Theodosius the Great reigned as Emperor of the East from 379 to 395. He did in fact campaign against Arianism.

²¹ The Synod of Tyre (335) supported Arianism and condemned Athanasius.

²² Not the biblical city of Sardis (in Anatolia) but Sardica (modern Sofia); the Council of Sardica (342 or 344) in fact supported Athanasius.

²³ Sirmium in Pannonia (modern Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia): the synod held there in 348 and 351 deposed the Bishop of Sirmium, one of the leaders of the radical Arians; but the second and third synods of Sirmium in 357 and 358 supported a position of moderate Arianism.

²⁴ The Council of Milan (355), at the behest of the Emperor Constantius, issued a condemnation of Athanasius.

²⁵ Seleucia in Anatolia (modern Silifke): the Council of Seleucia (359), the counter-part for the Eastern Church of the Council of Rimini (see n. 28), accepted an attenuated version of the Arian doctrine.

²⁶ Naissus (modern Nis, Serbia): the bishops who met at the Council of Rimini (see n. 28) were forced to accept an Arian creed which had been drawn up (though not by a council or synod) at Naissus.

²⁷ Tarsos or Tarsus in Cilicia (Asia Minor): Bishop Sylvamis of Tarsos was a leader of the semi-Arians at the Council of Seleucia, but there does not appear to have been a Council of Tarsos.

²⁸ Rimini: at the Council of Rimini (359), the bishops were obliged by Constantius II to accept an Arian creed.

²⁹ St Hilary of Poitiers (c.315–67), author of an anti-Arian treatise, *De trinitate*, and known as 'the Athanasius of the West'.

³⁰ Salvian of Marseille (c.400–after 480), whose *De gubernatione dei*, written in the 440s, attempted to reconcile contemporary world history with belief in divine providence.

³¹ Ethic 1693; the word is 'Ethnick' in Stubbe's original text (*An Account of Mohametanism*, p. 43).

³² The sixteenth canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage decreed 'that the bishop should not read books by Gentiles' ('ut Episcopus Gentilium libros non legat')— meaning, probably, read them out in church.

³³ Blount now omits a paragraph of Stubbe's text, on the dubious religious practices of the Imperial Court under Theodosius and Justinian (*An Account of Mohametanism*, p. 44).

³⁴ 'Hypostasis' originally meant 'substance', but during the Christological debates of the 4th cent. it was increasingly used by Greek-language theologians to mean 'person'. Latin theologians, not understanding this development, suspected the Greeks of tritheism when they wrote of three 'hypostaseis' (literally, three substances) in the Godhead.

³⁵ οὐσία, the 'being' or substance of the Godhead.

³⁶ Followers of Nestorius (d. 451).

³⁷ Followers of Eutyches (c.375–454).

³⁸ The oecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) drew up a statement of faith denouncing the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches.

³⁹ The name Melchite is derived from the Greek form of the Syrian adjective 'malkaya', meaning 'imperial'.

⁴⁰ Stubbe confused Eutyches (see n. 37), who was abbot of a monastery outside Constantinople, with Eutychius (512–82), who was Patriarch of Constantinople between 552 and 582, and whose theology was orthodox. Where Stubbe wrote 'Eutyches', Blount has changed it to 'Eutychius', thus correcting the inconsistency but preserving the misidentification.

⁴¹ Dioscoras, a deacon from Alexandria, was not Patriarch of that city; he fled to Rome because of his disagreements with the Eutychians in Alexandria, and was elected Pope, being consecrated in Sept. 530 and dying in the following month.

⁴² Severas (c.465–538), an influential moderate Eutychian theologian, was Patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518.

⁴³ James Baradai (d. 578), a Syrian monk who consecrated the Syrian Monophysites (i.e. Eutychians) as bishops and priests, thus founding a new hierarchy which became the Syrian Jacobite Church.

⁴⁴ Nestorius (see n. 36) was created Patriarch of Constantinople in 428, but was deposed by the Council of Ephesus three years later. The Nestorian Church was later active in Persia, Syria, Arabia, and India.

⁴⁵ Marcian (396–457) became Eastern Emperor in 450; he attended the Council of Chalcedon, and used his army to enforce obedience to its decisions.

⁴⁶ Most of the rest of this paragraph, from here to '*Graecum est, non Legitur*', had been copied by Stubbe from a passage beginning 'Wee may observe by the way, that at that time the Greeke tongue was so well understood at Rome ...' in Gerard Langbaine's translation of Ranchin's *Revision du concile de Trent (A Review of the Councell of Trent)*, pp. 151–2).

⁴⁷ Unidentified; possibly an error for the First or Second Councils of Constantinople (381 and 553).

⁴⁸ The Council of Ephesus convened in 431 to condemn the doctrines of Nestorius.

⁴⁹ Pope Celestine I, elected in 422, died in 432. He condemned Nestorius at Rome in 430.

⁵⁰ St Gregory the Great (c.540–604), elected Pope in 590.

⁵¹ John, Bishop of Larissa (the metropolitan see of Thessaly, in Greece).

⁵² Franciscus Accursius (1182–1260), compiler of an exhaustive collection of commentaries on Roman law, the *Glossa magna*.

⁵³ 'It is Greek, and cannot be read'.

⁵⁴ Justinian I (482–565), Emperor from 527.

⁵⁵ Blount's plagiarism from Stubbe's text (see n. 12) ends here.

⁵⁶ Jean Daillé (1594–1670), French Protestant theologian, whose *Traité de l'employ des saints pères* (1632) was an influential account of the contradictions and historical inadequacies of the patristic texts.

⁵⁷ John Hales (1584–1656), liberal Anglican theologian. The quotation is from his *Tract concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost*, p. 66.

⁵⁸ Honours 2nd edn.

⁵⁹ For an interpretation of the argument of Blount's *Anima Mundi*, see the entry on him in the Biographical Register.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 202 5 [/15] March 1678 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from Hardwick (05 March 1678 - 15 March 1678)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 202 5 [/15] MARCH 1678 *HOBBS TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM HARDWICK*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fos. 9–10 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 205 (transcript).

Printed in *ABL* i, pp. 378–9.

Noble Sir,

I am very glad to hear you are well and continue your favours towards me.

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'Tis a long time since I have been able to write my selfe, and am now so weake that it is a paine to me to dictate.

But yet I cannot choose but thanke you for this letter of Jan. 25th which I receaved not till the last of February. I was assured a good while since that Dr. Wallis² his learning is no where esteemed but in the Universities by such as have engaged themselves in the defence of his geometry and are now ashamed to recant it. And I wonder not if Dr. Wallis, or any other, that have studyed mathematicks onely to gaine preferment, when his ignorance is discovered, convert his study to jugling and to the gaining of a reputation of conjuring, decyphering, and such arts as are in the booke you sent me.³

As for the matter it selfe, I mean the teaching of a man born deafe and dumbe to speake, I thinke it impossible.⁴ But I doe not count him deafe and indocible that can heare a word spoken as loud as is possible at the very entrance to his eare,⁵ for of this I am assured that a man borne absolutely deafe must of necessity be made able to heare before he can be made to speake, much lesse to understand. And he that could make him heare (being a great and

common good) would well deserve both to be honoured and to be enriched. He that could make him speake a few words onely deserved nothing. But he that brags of this and cannot doe it, deserves to be whipt.

Sir, I am most heartily
Your most faithfull and most humble servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Hardwick,

March the 5th, 1677.

[*addressed:*] To my most honored frend Mr. John Awbry Esq^{re}, to be left for him at M^r. Crookes, a Bookseller at the Green Dragon without Temple barre. London.

NOTES

¹ This letter has not apparently survived.

² See Letter 75 n. 7.

The year of this letter is determined partly by Hobbes's usual practice, and partly by the reference to Wallis's book (see n. 3).

³ The subject-matter of the next paragraph indicates that this was Wallis's *A Defence of the Royal Society* (1678).

⁴ See Letter 199 n. 12.

⁵ As Holder admitted, Alexander Popham was not profoundly deaf: 'he had some perception of any very vehement sound' (*Elements of Speech*, p. 160).



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Shipman, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 203 September 1678 Thomas Shipman to Hobbes, from Annesley (Notts.) (September 1678)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 203 SEPTEMBER 1678 *THOMAS SHIPMAN TO HOBBS, FROM ANNESLEY (NOTTS.)*

Chatsworth, Hobbes MSS, letter 76 (original).

By the favour of my honourd Lord Chaworth¹ I haue seen 2 mighty Wonders——vz M^r Hobs & Hardwic. So glorious a Sphear could not be actuated by any other Intelligence. The Marbles must yield to that durablenes his Name wil giue it: The princely Roomes & shining Materials are lesse precious then thos Conceptions & not so lofty as the Genius that produc'd 'em. Tho' Empires haue their fatal periods Yet I look upon this Palace & that other (His Leviathan) as the mightyst & lastingst Structures yt any Age has rays'd. And tho' nothing can be Eternal but that One that has neither limits, nor Measure; yet thes 2 wil last as long as Time is; & (for ought I know) that Book may continue even then when Time shalbe no more: If the products of his Soul may injoy the priviledg of their Producer; whos Soul (& consequently knowledg) wil then be refin'd; else thos vast perfections were treasur'd in him but in vain, a disparagement to the Bounty of his Creator. M^r Hobs may justly be call'd the great Master, since he is the Master of Knowledge & that the Soul of the World. For without knowledg the World had not been, as for it & by it It was alone created. It is either the breath of life breath'd into us or yt which perfumes it & keeps us from the decays & rottenesses of Errour. So rich & inticing! It tempted Man to hazard certain happines for the charms of a beauty not truly known. This thought puts me to admire the contrary effects in my fate; since the fruit of an Apple tree (at least so render'd in the Vulgar translations) should ruin Adam's fate & rayse mine. For this opportunity of attending Lord Chaworths Cscyder gives me the boldnes & some hopes of presenting to Mr Hobs my service & due sense of his worth & having it receiv'd by him. At least I haue paid a Duty yt is incumbent on ye whole World, as wel as on mee in honouring his merits & Name & in professing my self

Reverend Sr

Yo^r very humble Serv^{te} and admirer
Tho Shipman

Annesley² Sept. 1678

[*addressed:*] Present it to the Reverend Mr Hobs

NOTES

¹ Patrick Chaworth, third Viscount Chaworth (1635–93). Shipman was a family friend (and, probably, a tenant) of the Chaworths (see the Biographical Register).

² Annesley Hall, south of Mansfield; one of the two family seats of the Chaworths.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 204 25 March [/4 April] 1679 Hobbes to William Croke, from Chatsworth (25 March 1679 - 04 April 1679)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 204 25 MARCH [/4 APRIL] 1679 *HOBBS TO WILLIAM CROOKE, FROM CHATSWORTH*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fo. 11 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 206^v (transcript).

Printed in *ABL* i, p. 379.

Sir,

I have receaved Sir George Ent's booke¹ and Mr. Aubrey's letter,² to which I have written an answer,³ but I cannot tell how to send it to him without your helpe, and therfore I have sent it to you here inclosed, for I believe he comes now and then to your shop, and I pray you doe me the favour to deliver it to him.

I rest, your humble servant
Tho. Hobbes.

Chatsworth, March the 25th 1679.

[*addressed:*] For M^r. William Croke Bookeseller at the Green-dragon without Temple-barr London.

NOTES

¹ Ἀντιδιατριβή. *sive animadversiones in Malachiae Thrustoni, diatribam* (1679). The work was apparently published in Feb.: one copy (BL 784. d. 26) was given to the Earl of Anglesey by Ent on 13 [/23] Feb. Sir George Ent (1604–89), the son of a Dutch merchant resident in England, studied under Isaac Beeckman's brother at Rotterdam before entering Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (1624). He graduated at Padua University (1636), became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (1639), and hereafter held a variety of offices at that college, including the presidency (1670–5, 1682, 1684). He was a friend of Hobbes (*ABL* i, p. 370), and a defender of Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood.

² This letter has not apparently survived.

³ Letter 205.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 205 25 March [/4 April] 1679 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from Chatsworth (25 March 1679 - 04 April 1679)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 205 25 MARCH [/4 APRIL] 1679 *HOBBS TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM CHATSWORTH*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fos. 12–13 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); *ibid.*, fo. 53^r (transcript, in the hand of John Aubrey); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 206 (transcript).

Printed in *ABL* i, p. 380.

Worthy Sir,

I have receaved from Will: Crooke the booke of Sir George Ent of the use of respiration.¹ It is a very learned and ingenious booke, full of true and deepe philosophy, and I pray you to present unto him my most humble service. Though I receaved it but three days since, yet drawn on by the easinesse of the style and elegance of the language I have read it all over. And I give you most hearty thanks for sending of it to me, and to Mr. Ent² who was pleased to bestow it upon me, and I am very glad to hear that Sir George him selfe is alive and in good health, though I believe he is very near as old as I am.

I knew not how to addresse my letter to you, but at all adventure I sent it inclosed in a letter to Mr. Crooke at whose shop I suppose you sometimes looke in as you passe the street.

I pray you present my service to Mr. Hooke³ and thanke him for the honour of his salutation.

I am, Sir, your most obliged and humble servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth, March the 25th, 1679.

[*addressed:*] For my most honoured frend, M^r. John Awbrey.

NOTES

¹ See Letter 204 n. 1.

² George Ent junior (d. 1679), lawyer, author, and Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1674–5 he had been commissioned by Aubrey to recover the text of Hobbes's Latin prose autobiography from Anthony Wood in Oxford (see Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 113; MS Aubrey 12, fos. 105, 107).

³ See Letter 198 n. 3.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 206 19 [/29] June 1679 Hobbes to William Croke, from Chatsworth (19 June 1679 - 29 June 1679)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 206 19 [/29] JUNE 1679 *HOBBS TO WILLIAM CROOKE, FROM CHATSWORTH*

MS unknown.

Printed (this extract) in Hobbes, *Considerations*, sigs. A2^v–A3^r (EW iv, pp. 411–12).

Latin translation by Robert Blackbourne printed in *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, pp. 153–4 (OL i, pp. lv–lvi).

—I would fain have published my Dialogue of the Civil Wars of *England*,¹ long ago; and to that end I presented it to his Majesty: and some days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought him to let me print it; but his Majesty (though he heard me graciously, yet he) flatly refused to have it published. Therefore I brought away the Book, and gave you leave to take a Copy of it; which when you had done, I gave the Original² to an honourable and learned Friend, who about a year after died. The King knows better, and is more concerned in publishing of Books than I am: Therefore I dare not venture to appear in the business, lest it should offend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in the business. Rather than to be thought any way to further or countenance the printing, I would be content to lose twenty times the value of what you can expect to gain by it, &c—I pray do not take it ill; it may be I may live to send you somewhat else as vendible as that: And without offence, I rest

Your Very humble Servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth, *June 19. 1679.*

NOTES

¹ *Behemoth*, first published in an unauthorized printing under the title *The History of the Civil Wars of England* (1679). This letter was apparently a reply to a letter from Crooke proposing to respond to that printing with an authorized edition.

² This probably refers to St John's College, Oxford, MS 13, a fair copy in James Wheldon's hand with corrections by Hobbes.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 207 21 [/31] July 1679 Hobbes to William Croke, from Chatsworth (21 July 1679 - 31 July 1679)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 207 21 [/31] JULY 1679 **HOBBS TO WILLIAM CROOKE, FROM CHATSWORTH**

MS unknown.

Printed (this extract) in Hobbes, *Considerations*, sig. A3^r (EW iv, p. 412).

—If I leave any MSs. worth printing, I will leave word you shall have them, if you please. I am

Your humble Servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth, *July 21. 1679.*



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Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 208 18 [/28] August 1679 Hobbes to John Aubrey, from Chatsworth (18 August 1679 - 28 August 1679)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Vol. 7: *The Correspondence*, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 208 18 [/28] AUGUST 1679 *HOBBS TO JOHN AUBREY, FROM CHATSWORTH*

Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fos. 14–15 (original, in the hand of James Wheldon); *ibid.*, fo. 42^v (transcript, in the hand of John Aubrey, omitting the first paragraph); BL MS Egerton 2231, fo. 207 (transcript).

Printed in *Letters by Eminent Persons*, ii, p. 614 n. (extract); *ABL* i, pp. 380–1; Powell, *John Aubrey and his Friends*, p. 177.

Honored Sir,

I thanke you for your letter of Aug. 2^d, and I pray you present my humble thanks to Sir George Ent that he accepteth of my judgment upon his booke.¹ I feare it is rather his good nature then my merit. I am sorry for the news you write of his son.²

I have been told that my booke of the Civill Warr is come abroad,³ and am sorry for it, especially because I could not get his majesty to license it, not because it is ill printed or has a foolish title set to it,⁴ for I believe that any ingenious man may understand the wickednesse of that time, notwithstanding the errors of the presse.

The treatise *De Legibus*, at the end of it, is imperfect.⁵ I desire Mr. Horne⁶ to pardon me that I consent not to his motion, nor shall Mr. Crooke himselfe get my consent to print it.

.....
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I pray you present my humble service to Mr. Butler.⁷

The priviledge of stationers is (in my opinion) a very great hinderance to the advancement of all humane learning.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth, Aug. the 18th, 1679

[*addressed:*] To my much honoured friend Mr. John Aubrey, at Mr. Hooke's⁸ lodging in Gresham College, London.

NOTES

¹ See Letters 204 and 205. Aubrey's letter has not apparently survived.

² George Ent junior (see Letter 205 n. 2) was on his deathbed: he died on 2 [/12] Sept.

³ See Letter 206 n. 1.

⁴ This remark probably does not refer to the title *Behemoth*, which was not used for the first three unauthorized 1679 edns. (see Macdonald and Hargreaves, *Bibliography*, nos. 86–87a). It may perhaps be a reference to the quotations from Lucretius printed on the title-pages of those edns.:

Religio peperit Scelerosa atque impia Facta.
Tantum Religio potuit Suadere Malorum

('religion was the mother of wicked and impious deeds. [...] Such was the evil which religion led men to commit' (*De rerum natura*, lines 83, 101)).

⁵ The *Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Lams of England*, first published by Crooke in a collection entitled *Tracts of Thomas Hobb's* (1681). The *Dialogue* ends abruptly, and may be an unfinished work.

⁶ Probably Robert Horne, who was active as a bookseller in London from 1660 to 1685 (see Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–67*).

⁷ M^r Sam: Butler *Aub.* Samuel Butler (1613–80), the poet, was best known as the author of *Hudibras*. Aubrey listed him as one of Hobbes's friends, and was himself a pallbearer at Butler's funeral, as one 'of his old acquaintance' (*ABL* i, pp. 371, 136).

⁸ See Letter 198 n. 3.



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Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (1679): Letter 209 18 [/28] August 1679 Hobbes to William Crooke, from Chatsworth (18 August 1679 - 28 August 1679)

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LETTER 209 18 [/28] AUGUST 1679 *HOBBS TO WILLIAM CROOKE, FROM CHATSWORTH*

MS unknown.

Printed (this extract) in Hobbes, *Considerations*, sig. A3^V (EW iv, p. 412).

Sir,

I thank you for taking my advice in not stirring about the printing of my Book concerning the Civil Wars of *England*,¹ &c.—I am writing somewhat for you to print in English,² &c. I am,

Your humble Servant,

Thomas Hobbes.

Chatsworth, Aug. 18. 1679.

The general note to Letter 206 applies also to this letter.

NOTES

¹ See Letters 204, 205.

² Unidentified.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Letter 210 Undated Hobbes to King Charles II

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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LETTER 210 UNDATED *HOBBS TO KING CHARLES II*

BL MS Add. 4292, fo. 77^v (transcript, in the hand of Thomas Birch).

Printed in *EW* vii, pp. 471–2.

To the King's most excellent Majesty the humble petition of Thomas Hobbes;

Sheweth, that tho' your Majesty hath been pleased to take off the restraint of late years laid upon the pensions payable out of your privy purse; yet your Majesty's officers refuse to pay the pension of your petitioner¹ without your Majesty's express Command.

and humbly beseecheth your Majesty (considering his extreme Age, perpetual Infirmary, frequent & long Sickness, & the aptness of his Enemies to take any occasion to report, that your petitioner by some ill behaviour hath forfeited your wonted favour) that you would be pleased to renew your Order for the payment of it in such manner, as to his great Comfort he hath for many Years enjoyed it.

.....
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and daily prayeth to God almighty to blesse your Majesty with [>a] long Life, constant Health, & happyness.

NOTES

¹ See the general note above, and Letter 168 n. 3.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

Thomas Hobbes, The Correspondence (1679): Addendum Letter 62A late September 1649 Hobbes to Sir Charles Cavendish, [from Paris] (September 1649)

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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ADDENDUM LETTER 62A LATE SEPTEMBER 1649 HOBBS TO SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH, [FROM PARIS]

BL MS Harl. 6083, fo. 85^v (fragment, original)

I am of opinion, [that *deleted*] if a body be moued in a straigt line (whether the motion be Vniforme, so as continually to be moued equall spaces in equall times; or not vniforme, but sometimes swifter some times slower) and the aggregate of the swiftnesses in the vniforme motion be equall to the aggregate of the swiftnesses of the vnequall motion That the accession of a laterall [> vniforme] motion, in equall angles, shall adde [*one word deleted*] the same swiftnesse to the vniforme motion, that it does to the vnequall motion.

W^{ch} if I can demonstrate, I shall in my chapter of Motion giue you a straight line equall to any semiparabolicall line,¹ or the lines of any of the [other *deleted*] cubique, quadratoquadratique or other bastard parabolas.²

NOTES

¹ Hobbes's demonstration appears in ch. XVIII of *De corpore*. However, the chapter-divisions of his material were not yet finalized when he wrote this letter: in the published text of *De corpore*, the discussion of 'Motion' occupies not one chapter but eight (XV–XXII).

² The formula for an ordinary parabola involves a function of order 2 (x^2); in a cubic parabola the highest function is of order 3 (x^3), and in a quadratoquadratic parabola, order 4 (x^4). 'Bastard parabola' is a general term for other members of this family of curves.



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BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF HOBBS'S CORRESPONDENTS

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

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BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF HOBBS'S CORRESPONDENTS

GEORGE AGLIONBY (1602 OR 1603–1643)

The Mr Aglionby of Letter 3 can be identified, with reasonable certainty, with George Aglionby, given several known connections between George Aglionby, Hobbes, and the Cavendish family.

He was born at Oxford; his father, John (1567–1610), was Principal of St Edmund Hall, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and James I, and one of the translators of the New Testament for the King James Bible of 1611.¹ George Aglionby matriculated at Christ Church in December 1619, and proceeded BA in 1623 and MA in 1626.² In 1622 he contributed a Latin poem to a memorial volume for Sir Henry Savile,³ and in 1623 he wrote a poem for a volume celebrating the visit of Prince Charles to Oxford.⁴ In the following year he contributed two poems to another such book;⁵ also in 1624 he wrote a poem for a memorial volume for William Camden—a volume which included contributions by Sidney Godolphin, Robert Burton (also of Christ Church), and Thomas Browne (recently of Christ Church).⁶

From Letter 3 it appears that in 1629 Aglionby was employed by the Countess of Devonshire, perhaps as a temporary replacement for Hobbes. A further connection with the Cavendish family is revealed by an English poem by 'M^r Aglionby', 'On Bolsouer Castle' (one of the seats of the Earl of Newcastle and Sir Charles Cavendish), in a collection of poems, many of them by or associated with Ben Jonson, copied by a scribe to the Earl of Newcastle in the 1630s.⁷ This strengthens the possibility that Aglionby was a friend of Robert Payne, who was

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chaplain to the Earl of Newcastle in the 1630s and who also kept up a connection with Christ Church (becoming a canon there in 1638).⁸ Aglionby must certainly have been a frequent visitor to Christ Church during the 1630s. In 1632 he became vicar of Cassington, near Oxford; he proceeded BD at the university in 1633 and DD in 1635.⁹ In 1635 he was licensed to marry Sibella Smith, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London.¹⁰

Both Aubrey and Wood include Aglionby's name in their lists of members of the circle of Lucius Gary, Lord Falkland, at Great Tew: Aubrey writes that Aglionby 'was much in esteem with his lordship'.¹¹ Aubrey also lists him as a friend of Hobbes, calling Aglionby 'his great acquaintance'.¹² At some time (the date is not known) he taught at Westminster School;¹³ and he became a canon of Westminster in 1638. He was also for a time tutor to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham,¹⁴ who subsequently had geometry lessons from Hobbes in Paris.¹⁵ Buckingham was later to remark that it was Aglionby who had persuaded him to follow the King in the early stages of the Civil War.¹⁶ That Aglionby had some important patrons is indicated by the spate of ecclesiastical preferments which followed his canonry at Westminster: he became a prebendary of Chichester (1639), compounded for the deanery of Chichester (1642), and was presented by the Crown as Dean of Canterbury in May 1643, though not installed there.¹⁷ He died later that year at Oxford, 'of the epidemique disease then raging', and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral on 11/21 November.¹⁸ In 1655 the household accounts of the Cavendish family at Hardwick included the half-yearly payment (£10) of an annuity to 'Mrs Aglionby'—perhaps George Aglionby's widow.¹⁹

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JOHN AUBREY (1626-1697)

Aubrey was born at Easton Pierse in north Wiltshire (near Malmesbury), to a gentry family of rather precarious finances. In 1634 he attended lessons given by Robert Latimer, the rector of Leigh Delamere.¹ Latimer had been Hobbes's schoolteacher in Malmesbury, and in July or August 1634 Hobbes came to visit him at Leigh Delamere: 'Here', Aubrey later recalled, 'was the first place and time that ever I had the honour to see this worthy, learned man, who was then pleased to take notice of me, and the next day visited my relations'.² Although Hobbes never visited Wiltshire again, and although it was roughly twenty years before Aubrey was to become his friend, Aubrey's attitude to him always reflected pride in the knowledge that they were, in Aubrey's narrow geographical sense, 'fellow-countrymen'.

In May 1642 Aubrey went up to Oxford, where he was entered as a Gentleman-Commoner at Trinity College. As the summer progressed the city was gradually transformed into a royalist

garrison town; Aubrey's nervous father recalled him to Wiltshire in August.³ He returned to Oxford in February 1643, but caught smallpox and went home again, to live 'a sad life' in the country for three years. In April 1646 he went to London and was admitted as a student at the Middle Temple; and in November he was able to return to Trinity, where he 'was made much of by the fellowes, had their learned conversation, lookt on books, musique, Here and at Middle Temple (off and on) I (for the most part) enjoyd the greatest felicity of my life.'⁴ Aubrey's interests already included local history, literature, mathematics, and astronomy; and at Trinity he was particularly grateful to Ralph Bathurst, who let him study his 'excellent Collection of well chosen Bookes'.⁵

In 1648 Aubrey was recalled to Wiltshire to look after his sick father and prosecute his various affairs and lawsuits. He led a withdrawn life there for four years, mainly dependent on correspondence with friends such as John Lydall at Oxford for intellectual stimulation.⁶ Another scientific correspondent, Francis Potter, lived closer to Aubrey at the village of Kilmington, and in 1650 he was able to participate in Potter's

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pioneering experiments in blood transfusion.⁷ In 1651 Aubrey also became acquainted with William Harvey, whom he found 'very communicative, and willing to instruct any that were modest and respectfull to him'.⁸ After his father's death in 1652 Aubrey was even more encumbered with responsibilities (involving the piecemeal sale of the family estates throughout the 1650s and 1660s); but he also had more freedom to travel to London and mingle in various (predominantly royalist) medical, scientific, and legal circles there. It was probably thus, in the early 1650s, that he was introduced again to Hobbes, and became his lifelong friend.⁹

In 1656 Aubrey began his first major literary work, the *Natural History of Wiltshire*. By the late 1650s he was keeping the terms of the legal year in London, and cultivating a wide range of intellectual friends; in 1659 he was a member of James Harrington's political discussion club, the 'Rota'.¹⁰ At the approach of the Restoration he urged Hobbes to come to London, and cleverly arranged for his friend to meet the King at the studio of Samuel Cooper.¹¹ In July and August 1661 Aubrey travelled through Ireland with his friend Anthony Ettrick, where he spent some of his time sketching 'landskips on horseback symbolically'.¹² Another journey, undertaken in 1664, was less pleasant: 'June 11, landed at Calais. In August following, had a terrible fit of the spleen, and piles, at Orleans. I returned in October.'¹³

In 1663 Aubrey had become a Fellow of the Royal Society. This was a proper reflection of his interest in all kinds of learning (not merely antiquarian or topographical), including medicine,

mathematics, and Baconian natural history,¹⁴ But it is also true that during the 1660s, in the intervals between his various legal and financial crises, he was devoting more time to the collection of topographical and biographical materials—stimulated partly by his meeting with Anthony Wood in 1667. In 1663 he carried out a survey of Avebury, and in 1673 he was

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commissioned by the Royal Cosmographer to perform a survey of the county of Surrey.¹⁵ By 1674 his finances were in such a poor state that he considered emigrating to Jamaica—rejecting an alternative suggestion, that he take holy orders, with the words, 'Fough! the Cassock stinkes: it would be ridiculous.'¹⁶ His fierce anticlericalism was rendered even fiercer later that year when John Fell, the Dean of Christ Church, interfered with the brief life of Hobbes in Wood's *Historia et antiquitates universitatis oxoniensis*. 'Could one have thought', he fulminated, 'that this good Exemplar of Pietie, & walking Common Prayer booke could have made such a breach & outrage on the moralls & Justice? [...] who can pardon such a dry bone such a consecrated stalking Hypocrite?'¹⁷

According to Aubrey's first biographer, he began writing his *Brief Lives* at Wood's request, 'evidently with a view to his *Athenae Oxonienses*'¹⁸ But the impulse to write a series of short biographies of people he had known seems to have come from the work Aubrey did when preparing the 'Vitae Hobbiana auctarium', which was published with Hobbes's autobiographies in 1681.¹⁹ Aubrey did contribute greatly to Wood's collection of biographical materials; unfortunately he seems to have supplied Wood with the story of corrupt behaviour by Clarendon which appeared in volume ii of *Athenae* (1692), and for which Wood was prosecuted and fined.²⁰ This helps to explain Wood's later animus against his old collaborator, whom he described as 'a shiftless person, roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased'.²¹ Aubrey did indeed have some reason to be 'crased' in his last years; his finances were in ruins, and he was reduced to dependence on the hospitality and generosity of friends and relations. But his devotion to factual knowledge continued unabated; and John Toland's final judgement on Aubrey is one with which the modern biographer of Hobbes can whole-heartedly agree: 'he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact'.²²

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EDWARD BAGSHAW (1629-1671)

Bagshaw's father, also Edward, was a lawyer whose anti-episcopal views got him elected to the Long Parliament, but who subsequently turned royalist and was imprisoned by Parliament from 1644 to 1646.

Edward Bagshaw the younger was born at Broughton, Northamptonshire, and educated at Westminster School; he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1646. There, according to Anthony Wood, he 'expressed himself very often intolerably impudent, saucy and refractory to the censor'.¹ He proceeded MA in 1651, and continued at Christ Church until early 1656, when he was appointed Second Master at Westminster School, under the redoubtable Dr Busby. He took with him a recommendation from Christ Church which described him as having 'gained the Repute of one Eminent for Learning';² and he gave a token of both his academic ability and his religious inclinations when he published, in the following year, two theological exercises attacking the excessive use of reason in religion.³ But he and Busby rapidly fell out, over 'so petty things that I am ashamed to repeat them, such as— the sitting with my Hat on at Church'.⁴ In December 1657 the governors of the school suspended Bagshaw at Busby's request. Having obtained legal advice that this action was invalid, Bagshaw continued to teach there, though in increasingly difficult circumstances: the final straw was Busby's 'procuring my staircase to be cut down, thereby to hinder my access unto my Chamber'.⁵ He resigned in May 1658.

Since John Owen, the Dean of Christ Church and leading Independent, was a patron and supporter of Bagshaw, it is not surprising that he returned to Oxford; but it is a little more surprising that he was ordained an Anglican priest (by Bishop Brownrigg) in 1659. In January of that year he became Censor of Christ Church. His address to the college on taking up that appointment was a fierce attack on Aristotelian philosophy.⁶ Widely regarded (like Henry Stubbe) as a hired hand of Dr Owen, Bagshaw campaigned vigorously against the use of ceremony in the university: he 'declaimed eagerly' against formalities

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of dress 'in a full Convocation—with his hat cock'd'.⁷ But there was a serious theological and ideological basis for his actions. He was developing an anti-authoritarian and anti-Presbyterian political theory: towards the end of 1659 he attended meetings of James Harrington's 'Rota' club in London,⁸ and in January 1660 he wrote a short work, *Saintship no Ground of Sovereignty*, in which he argued, in a manner of which Hobbes might well have approved, that 'let this once be granted, that our Saviour is a Temporal Prince [...], presently a door is opened to all manner of Rebellion and Treason'.⁹ Bagshaw did not oppose the

'Saints' on theological grounds; he continued to argue for a form of Calvinist anti-rationalism, offering as a fundamental principle in another work written in late 1659: '*in all doubts never enquire what is rationally, but what is revealed*'.¹⁰ His argument rested instead on the claim that the contents of revelation included no prescriptions for political dominion, and very few prescriptions for church-government, or for the use of particular ceremonies in the worship of God.

Philosophically, Bagshaw was attracted to the causal metaphysics of the new science as one possible way of countering the Pelagian or Socinian theories of free will. Hence his admiration of Hobbes's *Of Libertie and Necessitie*, expressed in Letter 134, and his plagiarism from Gassendi's *Animadversiones* in the 'Exercitatio philosophica de libero arbitrio', which he published in 1659.¹¹ In his *Letter to Mr Thomas Pierce* (dated 1 [11] August 1659) he showed the congruence of his own thinking with Hobbes's when he wrote: 'I understand lesse, how those who acknowledge Gods Prescience can free him from being in some sense the Author of sin, since what ever God foresees, and doth not prevent, he may justly be thought to cause.'¹² One critic of Bagshaw, identified only as 'M.O.', described this as a blasphemy, calling Bagshaw 'a *Ranter* in the highest degree', and commenting as follows on his claim that God acts irresistibly: 'And thus you infer, with your Master *Hobbs*, that twas as necessary for *David* to commit adultery, as for the *Fire* to burn upwards.'¹³

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In September 1660 Bagshaw's most important work was published, *The Great Question concerning Things Indifferent*.¹⁴ Here he argued that 'the Nature of Christian Religion in general [...] is to be Free and Unforced', and that those who claimed that the imposition of uniformity was necessary to avoid 'disorder' were using 'nothing else but a Malicious and Ill-sounding name, put upon an excellent and most comely thing, namely *variety*'.¹⁵ This provoked a response from his fellow Student at Christ Church, the young John Locke, which circulated in manuscript.¹⁶ Bagshaw's arguments were a popular statement of the view that the Restoration settlement of the Church of England should be 'comprehensive'. He was not pleading for toleration as a dissenter outside the Church; as another work written in 1660 made clear, he accepted the episcopal hierarchy of the Church of England (though he did not think that the order of bishops was ordained by Scripture).¹⁷ In two sequels to *The Great Question concerning Things Indifferent* he extended his argument to claiming that even heresies should be tolerated as a necessary feature of religious life;¹⁸ but he continued to deny the charge that he was 'no Friend to *Bishops*'.¹⁹

In the summer of 1661 Bagshaw left Oxford to become chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey. At the end of that year he was finally deprived of his Studentship at Christ Church, an

action which he described as an 'Illegal exclusion'.²⁰ In July 1662 he travelled to Dublin with the Earl; the Archbishop of Dublin, enraged by one of Bagshaw's recent polemical works (an attack upon George Morley, Bishop of Worcester), refused to allow him to preach in public.²¹ Even the Earl's assurance that he was 'very Sober, Orthodox, and Inoffensive in his Preaching'²² was of no avail; he returned to England in September, and by December was living in London. Within a few weeks he was imprisoned (first in London, later in Southsea Castle in Hampshire) for seditious speeches and writings. At one point he was examined by the King, but

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'spake so boldly to the King as much offended him'.²³ On his release in early 1665 he returned, as one of the most hostile sources puts it, 'to the old trade of conventicling and raising sedition'.²⁴ In the late 1660s he was imprisoned again in Newgate Jail: he died shortly after his release, on 28 December 1671/7 January 1672. His burial, in the Nonconformists' graveyard at Bunhill Fields, was attended by 'near a thousand protestant dissenters', and the inscription on his gravestone was penned by his old protector John Owen: 'Here lies interred the Body of Mr. Edward Bagshaw Minister of the Gospel, who received from God Faith to embrace it, Courage to defend it, and Patience to suffer for it.'²⁵

THOMAS BARLOW (1607-1691)

Barlow entered The Queen's College, Oxford, at the humble rank of 'servitor', in 1623. He proceeded BA in 1630 and MA in 1633, in which year he became a Fellow of the college.¹ In 1635 he was appointed Reader in metaphysics to the University, and three years later published a set of exercises in metaphysical and theological argument which gained him great fame as a master of late scholastic philosophy.²

Barlow was highly regarded as a teacher (his pupils included John Owen, who showed his gratitude by protecting Barlow's position in Oxford during the Interregnum), and was renowned for his expertise in casuistry and controversial theology. An Anglican with an essentially Calvinist doctrinal position, he believed that the errors of Roman Catholics on the one hand and Socinians on the other could not be properly demonstrated without a thorough grounding in scholastic arguments.³ In the late 1630s and early 1640s he was a frequent visitor to Great Tew, where he assisted Lord Falkland and William Chillingworth in the preparation of their anti-papal works.⁴ He survived the

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capture of Oxford from the royalists in 1646 and the parliamentary Visitation in 1648, acquiring something of a reputation as a trimmer; and in 1652 he was appointed Bodley's Librarian.⁵ Owen's patronage certainly helped to secure this post for him, but he was supremely well qualified for the job. A famous annotated reading-list for young scholars compiled by him in 1650 circulated in various copies and was expanded and updated by Barlow several times.⁶ One version, prepared in c.1655, has been published in a modern edition;⁷ Barlow's final and fullest version was published not long after his death.⁸ The 1655 version includes the instruction: 'Against [...] Libertines read [...] Rosse against Hobbs'— that is, Alexander Ross's polemical work, *Leviathan drawn out with a Hook*.⁹

In 1658 Barlow became Provost of The Queen's College, with the unanimous vote of the Fellows; his friend Obadiah Walker (an ejected Fellow of University College) wrote to him that the Fellows of Queen's 'have [> their] father to their Provost, vnder whose experienced government they may assure themselves of all happyncs y^{ey} are capable of. 'Tis no wonder y^t everyone without reluctancy cheerfully concurred in y^t election.'¹⁰ Barlow became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (giving up his Keepership of the Bodleian) in 1660, and Archdeacon of Oxford in 1661. Soon after the Restoration he wrote, at the request of Robert Boyle (whose 'intimate friend' Barlow had become in the mid-1650s)¹¹ a treatise advocating religious toleration for all except papists, Quakers, and atheists;¹² and in 1667–8 he joined his friend John Wilkins in supporting a scheme for the 'comprehension' of dissenters within the Church of England. In 1675 Barlow became Bishop of Lincoln, and his final years were dominated by anti-Roman Catholic polemics of increasing vehemence. His most popular work, published just after the 'Popish plot', was entitled *Popery; or, The Principles & Positions approved by the Church of Rome [...] are very Dangerous to all: and to*

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Protestant Kings and supreme Powers, more especially Pernicious. But he lived just long enough to trim twice more, once in accepting James II's religious policy, and then in accepting the Glorious Revolution.

The exchange of letters between Hobbes and Barlow in 1656 may have been the only direct contact between them. Although Barlow might have accepted some elements of Hobbes's political theory, he was too wedded to scholasticism to have any real sympathy for Hobbes's wider philosophical aims. In 1674 he reacted strongly against Sir William Petty's *Discourse of Duplicate Proportion*, complaining that the atomistic theories of the new science would 'make for Atheism': 'I am troubled', he wrote, 'to see the *Scepticism* (to say *no worse*) which now *securely reigns* in our *miserable Nation*.'¹³ In 1676 Barlow was sent a manuscript copy of Hobbes's *Historical Narration concerning Heresie* by Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey. He prepared a detailed refutation of it, in which he began by declaring that 'It is

y^e positions of that Authour, which I seuerely, (may be) but *truely confute*;, not his person [...] Soe say I, of M^r Hobs and truth; I loue Both, but *truth better*. Nor is this any breach of *friendship*,' and ended by arguing that Hobbes could justly be executed for blasphemy.¹⁴ A fair copy of this refutation, addressed to the Earl, also survives;¹⁵ it seems that Barlow may have intended to publish the work in 1680,¹⁶ but only a short extract (in which, untypically, he expresses agreement with Hobbes) was eventually published in his *Genuine Remains*.¹⁷

RALPH BATHURST (1620–1704)

Bathurst was born at Hothorpe, Northamptonshire, and educated at Coventry and at Trinity College, Oxford. There he proceeded BA in 1638 and MA in 1641, having been elected a Fellow in 1640.¹ He was ordained priest in 1644. From c.1642 he was interested in scientific matters, especially medicine.² After the surrender of Oxford to the

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parliamentary forces in June 1646 he gained medical knowledge as an assistant to Thomas Willis, and spent some time studying and practising medicine away from Oxford; but in 1648 he returned to his fellowship, submitted to the parliamentary Visitors, and was soon engaged in chemical researches in Oxford with Willis and John Lydall.³ He took part in the weekly scientific meetings in William Petty's Oxford lodgings, and in December 1650 he assisted Petty, Willis, and Henry Clerke in the famous resuscitation of a hanged woman, Anne Greene, who revived on their dissecting table.⁴ Petty (who had returned to England from Paris in May 1646) was in contact with Hobbes via Sir Charles Cavendish;⁵ so it may have been through Petty that Bathurst became interested in promoting Hobbes's work. In late 1649 Bathurst wrote prefatory Latin verses for *Humane Nature*, the unauthorized printing of the first half of the *Elements of Law*.⁶

Bathurst's scientific thinking in this period is illustrated by the propositions which he defended at a public disputation in Oxford in June 1651. His defence of the proposition that 'all sensation is touch' shows an especial closeness to Hobbes's mechanistic epistemology.⁷ He also combined a mechanistic theory of matter, Harveian anatomical theories, and experimental observations of his own in three lectures on respiration, delivered in 1654 as part of the exercises for the degree of DM (awarded to him in that year).⁸ Bathurst was a member of John Wilkins's scientific circle at Wadham College;⁹ he also took chemistry lessons from Peter Stahl in Oxford in 1659–60.¹⁰ He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1663, but he was a 'barely active' member thereafter.¹¹ He was too busy elsewhere: in

Oxford, where he became President of Trinity in 1664 (and remained in that post until his death in 1704), and at Wells, where he was appointed Dean in 1670 (reputedly

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through the patronage of the Earl of Devonshire, to whose attention he had been brought by his verses in praise of Hobbes).

Rumours that Bathurst held unorthodox theological views have also been attributed to his early connection with Hobbes.¹² But a section of Bathurst's will (of 1698) suggests that there may have been some substance to those reports: 'I give all my Writings and Paper-Books [...] to my aforesaid Nephew and Executor Richard Healy, strictly requiring him not to make any thing Publick, nor to suffer any Copies (especially of what relates to Divinity) to be transcribed, nor permit them so much as to be perused by any, or but very few, such Friends, as are like to read them with Candor, I earnestly desire, that all the Books and Papers in the Firr Box with a Lock, and marked on the Lid with 1677. may be privately burned (except I first do it my self) and not so much as read by my Executor or any other.'¹³

JOHAN BLAEU (1596-1673) AND HIS SON PIETER

Johan's father, Willem Jansz. Blaeu (1571-1638), was the founder of one of the great Dutch printing-houses of the seventeenth century. He had started business in Amsterdam as a seller of maps and globes in 1599, and began printing maps five years later.¹ Thereafter he specialized in maps and atlases, but also produced a wide range of books by authors who included Grotius and the poet Vondel (who was a family friend). When Willem Blaeu opened a large new printing-house on the Bloemgracht in 1637 (a year before his death), the house of Blaeu could begin to rival Elsevier as the leading printers of Amsterdam.

Johan Blaeu studied law at Leiden University, and then spent several years in Italy. After his father's death, the family business was inherited by Johan and his brother Cornelis; but the latter died soon thereafter.² Under Johan's management the firm prospered and expanded. Maps and atlases were still the most distinctive part of its output: most notably, the twenty-one-sheet map of the world issued after the Treaty of Münster in 1648, and the *Groten atlas* which began to appear in 1662.

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But Johan also greatly extended his firm's list of publications in the fields of law, theology, and philosophy; the business also acquired more international connections under his management, and he was appointed official printer to the Swedish Court.³

In March 1662 Johan Blaco notified the Burgomasters of Amsterdam that he intended to step down in favour of his son Pieter (who had already been working for him in the family business).⁴ Whether the Burgomasters opposed such a move is not known, but it seems not to have taken place. It was Johan Blaeu who inaugurated the new and even larger printing-house on the Gravenstraat in 1667⁵ —where, probably, Hobbes's *Opera philosophica* of 1668 was printed. These years were the apogee of Blaeu's success; sadly, in February 1672 the new printing-house was entirely destroyed by fire, at an estimated cost of 285,000 guilders.⁶ Johan Blaeu died at the end of the following year.

The firm never really recovered from the financial damage caused by the fire. In an effort to regain liquidity, Johan Blaeu's widow held three large sales of stock in 1674, and a fourth in 1677.⁷ The business was carried on by Johan's three sons, Willem, Pieter, and Johan; some new maps and atlases were published, but otherwise they were mainly trading on their old surviving stock. The printing-house on the Bloemgracht seems to have ceased functioning in 1695, when an inventory of its contents was drawn up, and the entire business was liquidated on the death of the last surviving brother, Johan, in 1712.⁸

CHARLES BLOUNT (1654-1693)

Charles Blount's father, Sir Henry, was famous for his travels in the Ottoman Empire, of which he published an account in 1636.¹ He was knighted by Charles I, and fought as a royalist in the Civil War; but having made his peace with the parliamentary authorities he served on several public commissions in the 1650s. Nevertheless, he was restored to favour after the Restoration, becoming sheriff of Hertfordshire in

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1661.² In the same year he also became a Fellow of the Royal Society, though he was never an active member of that body.³ He was 'a constant frequenter of coffee houses',⁴ and seems to have mingled in free-thinking, anticlerical circles in London both in the 1650s and after the Restoration; Aubrey, who knew him personally,⁵ listed him among Hobbes's friends.⁶

Charles Blount was born in Upper Holloway, north of London, in 1654. He and his elder brother, Thomas Pope Blount, were most probably educated by their father;⁷ Sir Henry had 'inveighed much against sending youths to the universities'.⁸ Charles was clearly a precocious child. In the words of one early biography, 'his pregnant parts and polite behaviour, brought him early into the world';⁹ and at the age of 18 he was married, to

Eleanora Tyrell in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰ His father settled on him the estate of Blounts-Hall, Staffordshire (which had been Sir Henry's own inheritance as a younger son, before he had succeeded to the main family estates in Hertfordshire, following the death of his own elder brother).¹¹

Charles Blount was now able to launch himself in his chosen career as a gentleman littérateur. His first publication was *Mr Dreyden Vindicated* (1673), a defence of John Dryden's play *The Conquest of Granada*, against two pamphlets which had criticized it on stylistic grounds.¹² Five years later Blount published the first of his major works, *Anima mundi*; the title-page did not give the author's name, and described the work as published at 'Amsterdam, Anno Mundi ooooo'.¹³ As the

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postscript to Letter 201 shows, Blount sent a copy of this book to Hobbes. Ostensibly, *Anima mundi* is a historical study of early doctrines about the mortality or immortality of the human soul; Blount appears to argue in favour of the Christian doctrine of immortality, and against pantheism. But the real nature of the work seems to have been an exercise in delicate but large-scale irony: Blount implies that the best reason for approving the immortality of the soul is a functional one, namely that this belief makes men virtuous. Religion, by implication, is not a body of truth but an instrument of social control.¹⁴ Blount made this point much more directly in a letter of February 1680 to the notorious 'libertine' Lord Rochester.¹⁵

Charles Blount became involved in politics during the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81). He was a member of the 'Green Ribbon Club' of Whig activists and propagandists;¹⁶ and in 1679 he published *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the Preservation of his Majesties Person, Liberty, Property, and the Protestant Religion*, in which he claimed that Jesuit priests were plotting to set fire to London.¹⁷ In the same year he also published an appeal to Parliament against the Licensing Act, *A Just Vindication of Learning; or, An Humble Address [...] in Behalf of the Liberty of the Press*. His main theoretical interest was still in the relation between politics and religion: in *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680) he discussed pagan idolatry as a consequence of priestcraft. Another work published in the same year was a translation, with discursive annotations, of the 'Life of Apollonius of Tyana' by Philostratus: Apollonius was a religious teacher and miracle-worker, whose biography therefore offered an ironic surrogate for the life of Christ. In his notes to this translation Blount quoted approvingly from *Leviathan*.¹⁸ By the early 1680s, as a consequence of his attempts to exclude priestcraft from religion, Blount had arrived at a 'deist' position, in which priests were regarded as irrelevant to true religion because all essential religious beliefs could be established by pure reason. He presented this position

in two works published in 1683, *Religio Laid* (addressed to Dryden, and making explicit use of the arguments of Lord Herbert of Cherbury), and *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature* (which borrows arguments from *Leviathan* and Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*).

Important evidence of Blount's intellectual interests in the early 1680s is supplied by his recently discovered manuscript copy-book, which he began in December 1681.¹⁹ In addition to comments on many Restoration plays (witnessing again to his admiration for Dryden), it also includes notes of witty sayings and comic incidents from Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* and from Rabelais; extensive notes on several historical works relating to James I (so extensive that they may have been made in preparation for an intended work of his own on that subject); and extracts from Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, *Essayes*, and *Genuine Remains*, Donne's *Biathanatos*, Browne's *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, and Meric Casaubon's *On Credulity and Incredulity*, among others. Blount's political preoccupations are reflected in a compilation of arguments in favour of the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne,²⁰ and extracts from exclusionist speeches in the Parliament of 1680–1, which, no doubt to guard against prying eyes, were given headings such as 'the factious foolish Arguments of y^e Late Members of Parliamt for y^e disinheriting of y^e Duke of York: whom God preserve'.²¹ Blount's interest in Hobbes is indicated by his notes on 'Hobbs's letter of himself' (i.e. *Mr. Hobbes Considered*)²² and lengthy extracts from *Decameron physiologicum*.²³

This copy-book also contains a series of quotations from Hobbes which corresponds quite closely to the contents of the two broadsides of extracts from his works which were published in 1680, soon after Hobbes's death: *Memorable Sayings of Mr Hobbes* and *The Last Sayings of Mr Thomas Hobbs*.²⁴ According to Aubrey, the first of these was published by 'Dr. Francis Bernard and his brother Charles, etc.—a club', and the second by Charles Blount.²⁵ The appearance of these extracts in Blount's copy-book suggests, however, that he was not the

originator of either of those broadsides, though he must have had connections with the people who were—perhaps the 'club' Aubrey mentions. Blount transcribed these extracts into his copy-book roughly one year after the broadsides were published (something he presumably would not have done had he himself supplied the original copy of either of them to the printer). Some of the quotations from Hobbes are fuller and more accurate in the broadsides than in Blount's copy; but in other cases the converse is true, with Blount's copy supplying a sentence which is omitted in the broadsides. That the broadsides shared

a common source is suggested not only by the fact that extracts corresponding to the contents of both of them appear in these pages of Blount's copy-book, but also by the fact that one passage, given as a single continuous quotation by Blount, is shared between the two broadsides, with *Memorable Sayings of Mr Hobbes* printing the first half and *The Last Sayings of Mr Thomas Hobbs* printing the second.²⁶ The most likely explanation is that Blount was copying from a manuscript compilation which was itself the source of both broadsides. Blount's marginal annotations on these extracts also supply intriguing evidence of his own attitude to Hobbes: his enthusiasm for their attacks on priestcraft and popery is evident, but against an extract from *Leviathan* ('As a man that is born blind, hearing men talk of warming themselves by the fire [...]'), Blount wrote: 'Providence proved. God asserted. Atheism opposed. Ignorance human'.²⁷ And against an axiom from *Decameron physiologicum* ('nothing can begin, change, or put an end to its own Motion'), he wrote: 'change, motion selfmover. God proved'.²⁸ That these annotations were also written with prying eyes in mind is conceivable, but much less likely: it would surely have been simpler, if that had been Blount's intention, to write general headings denouncing Hobbes for impiety, rather than particular annotations praising him for his apparent theological proofs.

Little else is known of Blount's life until his final year. Having formed a special grudge against Edmund Bohun, the Licenser of the Press, he prepared an ingenious trap for him: in January 1693 he

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arranged for a printer to submit an anonymous pamphlet²⁹ which defended the legitimacy of William and Mary's reign on the grounds of their rights by conquest—a justification which agreed with Bohun's own political theories, but would scandalize everyone else in the government. The trap worked; having licensed the pamphlet, Bohun was hauled before Parliament (where he said that 'he took it as a well-meaning book writ for this government'),³⁰ imprisoned, and dismissed from his post. Also in early 1693 Blount published *The Oracles of Reason*, a collection of short pieces which included his letter to Hobbes.³¹ In August of that year Charles Blount committed suicide in London,³² apparently out of frustration at being unable to marry the sister of his deceased wife. A further collection of works by him, including materials reprinted from *The Oracles of Reason*, was published by his friend and follower Charles Gildon in 1695. In the preface to this edition, Gildon described Blount as 'a Generous and constant Friend [...] His temper was open and free [...] his Repartees close, not scurrilous; he had a great deal of Wit, and no malice'.³³

CHARLES DU BOSC (D. 1659)

Originally from Normandy, du Bosc studied in Paris and then, according to Sorbière, spent six years 'as a very young man' with the second Earl of Devonshire in England, where he developed a particularly close friendship with Hobbes.¹ The dates of this stay in England cannot be fixed with any certainty. Du Bosc was also in London in October 1638, when he received a gift of £15 from the third Earl of Devonshire;² but Sorbière specifically says that it was the second Earl (who died in 1628) that du Bosc had known well.³

On his return to France du Bosc entered the service of the King, and he was to spend the rest of his life at the French Court. He kept up

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several connections with England; he was a friend of Sir Kenelm Digby, and forwarded letters and books to him in London.⁴ From 1643 to 1646 he supplied the Chancellor, Séguier, with extracts from his English correspondence.⁵ In 1646 he seems to have worked as secretary to the Queen;⁶ on 9/19 July 1646 Sir Charles Cavendish instructed John Pell to send his letters to Hobbes c/o 'Mons^r: de Bosc Secretaire du Roy et valet de chambre de la Reine'.⁷ When du Bosc made a French translation of a decree by Charles II in January 1651, he wrote at the foot of the document: 'translated from the English original by me, *conseiller* and *secrétaire* of the King and of his finances, and interpreter-*secrétaire* to the King in the English language'.⁸ He was later described by Sorbière as 'Conseiller et Secretaire de Roy, Gentilhomme seruant de la Reyne'.⁹ At Court he was particularly close to Mazarin, whom he accompanied on a journey to Amiens in 1649; and in 1656 he was writing letters on Mazarin's behalf to the French Ambassador in London.¹⁰

Du Bosc seems to have attended frequently Mersenne's weekly gatherings in the 1640s: Sorbière recalled that it was in Mersenne's room that he first met both du Bosc and Hobbes.¹¹ In the late 1650s he also attended the 'academy' in Montmor's house. But du Bosc's own intellectual interests seem to have been more in philosophy than in the physical sciences. According to Sorbière, 'he was much indebted to his frequent and repeated readings of Bacon and Epictetus', and his own philosophical position was 'a scepticism purified by pious feelings, and fortified by Christian morality'.¹² As a tribute to his interest in classical

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scepticism, Sorbière sent him (in 1656) a translation, made at his request, of the first fourteen chapters of Sextus Empiricus.¹³ Lantin of Dijon recorded that du Bosc always carried with him a picture of a crucifix and the Manual of Epictetus; he also described him as being 'of such a gentle and approachable nature that everyone was charmed by his conversation'.¹⁴ One person who evidently found du Bosc 'approachable' was the Catholic philosopher Thomas White, who wrote to his friend Sir Kenelm Digby in December 1649: 'I write with these a letter to Mr, *Du Bose* [*sic*] to gett some monyes to hold out these hard dayes, for my Inke freezeth in my pen,'¹⁵ But Digby's reply on this occasion was not encouraging: 'He is very bare of mony (as we are all at present) & hath had lately a very great affliction in the losse of his children.'¹⁶ This last remark referred to the great tragedy of du Bosc's life: his son raped his (the son's) sister, then killed her and committed suicide.¹⁷ Du Bosc survived his children by almost exactly a decade, dying in December 1659.¹⁸

SIR JOHN BROOKE (1635 OR 1636-1691)

John Brooke's father, James, was a merchant from York whose sympathies were with Parliament during the Civil War. In 1651 he became Lord Mayor of the city; he prospered, and bought the estate of Ellenthorpe, near Boroughbridge.¹

John Brooke (or Brookes—both forms were used) was admitted to Gray's Inn in October 1650;² and in April 1652, aged 17, he was admitted as a Fellow-Commoner to Christ's College, Cambridge.³ Little else is known of his life in the 1650s, except that we catch a glimpse of him in the autobiography of Marmaduke Rawdon of York,

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who travelled with him from York to London in 1657: he described Brooke as 'a compleate gentleman' and 'very good company'.⁴ In 1662 John Brooke was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, having been proposed by the astronomer William Ball and Hobbes's friend William Petty.⁵ He was slightly active as a Fellow, keeping up his subscription payments for two years, then paying arrears in 1667 and 1673, and eventually being expelled from the Society in 1685.⁶ One reason for his inactivity was that he had no original research to communicate; another reason was that he was mainly resident in Yorkshire. He served as a JP there from 1664 to 1680, and as a commissioner for the assessment of taxes on several occasions between 1673 and 1690,⁷ He was created a baronet in 1676, and sat as MP for Boroughbridge in the Exclusion Parliament (1679-81). In 1681 he was reselected for that seat, and attended the Oxford Parliament, 'seemingly as one of the more militant of the country party',⁸ Sir John Reresby described him in 1682 as 'one of little judgement and less

courage'. Before 1685 he seems to have changed sides: one observer said that he 'sets up altogether for a Tory', but he did not stand for Parliament again.⁹

The nature of Brooke's scientific interests is indicated in his correspondence with two other Fellows of the Royal Society, Abraham Hill and Martin Lister. In both sets of letters he bemoaned his lack of interesting scientific news. On 10 [20] February 1663 he invited Hill 'to maintain that correspondence with me which, I can assure you, I am very ambitious of. This kind of literal intercourse will prove no small pleasure to me. I wish I was capable of serving the college here, though I cannot think them so distressed as to employ me, unless it is to perform the office of a whetstone, I mean to quicken others.'¹⁰ This last metaphor, which aptly describes Brooke's role in the transmission of Hobbes's letter in 1668 (Letter 183) to the Royal Society, so pleased him that he used it again when writing to Lister in 1671: 'I am very ambitious to supply the Office of the Whetstone (the dull my self) to [quicken *deleted*] sharpen others. besides, I am very unpleasantly diverted, with Concerns of another Nature (not very agreeable) which require my

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vtmost diligence & attention & does not a little indispose Mee, for any Thing but the Perusall of such curious philosophicall Remarks.'¹¹ His interest was chiefly aroused by strange phenomena and freaks of nature: in March 1663 he asked Hill to 'favour me with a more particular relation of those wonders and apparitions which have been reported to you, which will be a most acceptable piece of melancholly entertainment',¹² Evidently he accumulated a collection of curiosities of his own: when Martin Lister and Francis Willoughby were both in York in October 1671 they spent some time 'veiwing Mr Brooke's rich & well stored Cabinet of Art & Nature'.¹³

When Brooke visited London on two occasions in 1672, he attended meetings of the Royal Society, had conversations with Robert Hooke, paid visits to Lady Petty and Sir Robert Southwell, and attended the funeral of John Wilkins.¹⁴ And on 16 [26] July 1672 he reported one encounter in London which shows that his acquaintance with Hobbes was not purely epistolary: 'I saw Mr Hobbs (the other day) who is in very good Health considering his Age (being now 84 years old).'¹⁵

JAMES BUTLER, TWELFTH EARL AND FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE (1610-1688)

After the death of his father in 1619, James Butler was made a royal ward and sent to the household of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, where he was brought up (unlike the rest of his family) as an Anglican. In 1630 he went to Ireland to live with his grandfather, the

eleventh Earl, and he succeeded to the earldom two years later. Thomas Wentworth, who arrived in Ireland as deputy in 1633, was impressed by the vigour and natural authority of the young Earl of Ormonde, and they formed a close working relationship.

When the Irish rebellion broke out in 1641, Ormonde was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland. In 1642 he was created Marquis of Ormonde as a reward for his campaign against the rebels. The next four years were spent in a complex series of attempts to negotiate with the rebels and to send troops to the royalist armies in England and Scotland. In 1646, with the King in the hands of the Scots,

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Ormonde's position became impossible, and in the winter of 1646–7 he was obliged to appeal to Parliament to prevent Dublin from being taken by the rebels. In 1647 and 1648 he visited the King in captivity and the Queen in Paris; in 1649–50 he tried to regain Ireland for Charles II, but after being militarily defeated and politically undermined he finally settled in France in 1651, becoming one of the chief advisers to Charles II on the latter's return to Paris in October of that year.

It was probably in 1651 that Ormonde met Hobbes, and, it seems, extended his patronage to him. The publication of *Leviathan* offended both the factions at Charles's Court-in-exile (both the Anglican old royalists, to whom Ormonde belonged, and the 'Louvre group' of courtiers associated with the Catholic Queen Mother Henrietta Maria),¹ but there is some evidence that Ormonde was less offended than most. On 8/18 January 1652 Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to Hyde:

I hear L^d Percy is much concerned in the forbidding Hobbes to come to Court, & says it was you & other Episcopal men, that were the Cause of it. But I hear, that Wat. Montagu & other Papists (to the shame of the true Protestants) were the chief Cause, that that grand Atheist was sent away: & I may tell you, some say the Marq. of Ormonde was very slow in signifying the K.'s Command to Hobbes to forbear coming to Court, which I am confident is not true, though several persons affirm it.²

Ormonde spent much of the Interregnum in poverty—a poverty rendered poignant by the fact that he had spent £868,000 of his own money on the royalist cause,³ In 1658 he travelled incognito to England to study the feasibility of a royalist rising, and over the next two years he played a crucial role in the negotiations leading to the Restoration. After the Restoration he was granted many honours (including the Dukedom of Ormonde in the Irish peerage) and enabled to recover his Irish estates; and in 1662 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Isolated there from the hothouse politics of Charles II's Court, he became an object of envy and distrust on the part of a group of politicians headed by Buckingham, which eventually secured his dismissal from the lord-lieutenantship in 1669.

Ormonde spent most of the next seven years in England, and may have met Hobbes again at the Earl of Devonshire's house during this period; he had close and friendly connections with the Cavendish family, his daughter Mary having

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married the third Earl of Devonshire's elder son, William (the future first Duke of Devonshire) at Kilkenny on 27 October/6 November 1662. An inventory of Ormonde's possessions at Kilkenny includes a portrait of Hobbes.⁴

Ormonde was restored to the lord-lieutenantship in 1677, and in 1682 he was created Duke of Ormonde in the English peerage; but in 1684 he was dismissed from the lord-lieutenantship again. After the accession of James II he led a retired life; he died in July 1688. Even his enemies granted that his had been a career of unparalleled integrity. As Sir Robert Southwell wrote, 'I think his whole life was a straight line, if ever a man in the world's were so.'⁵

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH (1595?-1654)

Sir Charles was the younger brother of William, first Marquess (later first Duke) of Newcastle. His date of birth is not known, and some confusion has been caused by the fact that their eldest brother, who lived for only a few months, had also been christened Charles.¹ Some writers have supposed that Sir Charles was that elder son, and have explained the precedence taken by his brother William by assuming that Sir Charles was thought unfit to succeed as head of the family because of his physical deformity. Aubrey described him as 'a little, weake, crooked man [...] nature having not adapted him for the court nor camp',² But he was obviously not grossly deformed, and in later life he served as both an MP and a soldier.

Charles Cavendish appears to have been educated by private tutors. In 1612 he may have travelled with his brother in the retinue of Sir Henry Wotton on a diplomatic mission to Savoy, passing through France on the way there and returning via Milan, Basel, and Cologne (though Wotton, referring to the members of his entourage, mentioned only his brother).³ In 1619 he was created a knight by King James, probably when the latter visited Welbeck Abbey during a hunting trip in Sherwood Forest.⁴ Nothing is known of Sir Charles's intellectual

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development during this period, but it may be guessed that he was already interested in mathematics; it has been suggested that the 'Mathematician' who appears in Ben Jonson's *An Entertainment at the Blackfriars* of 1620 is intended to represent Sir Charles.⁵

In 1624 and 1628 Sir Charles served as MP for Nottingham,⁶ During the 1620s he seems to have developed contacts both with foreign mathematicians and, probably, with members of the circle of Thomas Hariot. By the summer of 1631 he was corresponding with Claude Mydorge;⁷ they were clearly well acquainted by then, for when Mydorge published his *Prodromi catoptricarum* later that year he dedicated the work to Sir Charles, describing him in the preface to the reader as 'extremely skilled in the whole realm of learning, and a very dear friend to me'.⁸ In the same year Sir Charles presented his brother's chaplain, Robert Payne, with a copy of Hariot's *Artis analyticae praxis*, edited by Walter Warner.⁹ And 1631 also saw the first appearance of William Oughtred's *Clavis mathematicae*, which, Oughtred explained in the preface, Sir Charles had encouraged him to publish.¹⁰ In October 1634 Sir Charles forwarded a letter to William Oughtred from the French mathematician François Derand.¹¹

By the years 1634–6 a slightly clearer pattern emerges of Sir Charles's intellectual activities, when he was discussing mathematical, optical, and mechanical problems with Payne, Hobbes, Warner, and John Pell.¹² The last of these seems to have begun corresponding with Sir Charles on a problem of naval architecture in 1635, when Pell was a

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comparatively unknown 24-year-old;¹³ Pell and Sir Charles were to remain in frequent contact for the rest of Sir Charles's life. There is unfortunately much less evidence for Sir Charles's relations with continental scientists and mathematicians during these years, though it is known that he was corresponding with François Derand in 1636–7.¹⁴ The earliest surviving correspondence between Sir Charles and Mersenne is from 1639, but when Mersenne's *Harmonicorum libri* was issued in 1636 it included a dedicatory epistle to Sir Charles from the publisher, Guillaume Baudry.¹⁵ And it appears that when Hobbes returned from Paris in November 1636 he brought with him a manuscript copy of Galileo's *Della scienza meccanica* as a present to Sir Charles from Mersenne.¹⁶ This was promptly translated into English by Payne, who had similarly translated a short work by Castelli (presumably also at Sir Charles's request) in the previous year.¹⁷ Sir Charles evidently remained in contact with Mydorge, receiving the third and fourth books of his *Conicorum* from him in 1639.¹⁸

Sir Charles was a Member of the Short Parliament which met in April–May 1640, though no speech or intervention by him is recorded. While staying in London during those months he

met John Pell, leaving a manuscript by Warner on refraction with him when he left for the country in June.¹⁹ He spent most of 1641 at Wellinger.²⁰ After the outbreak of the Civil War in August 1642 he followed his brother on his military campaigns. Clarendon writes that Sir Charles and the Marquess of Newcastle 'charged' at the battle of Marston Moor 'with as much gallantry and courage as men could do'—adding that Sir Charles was 'a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived'.²¹ The two brothers left England together after the battle, and lived for the rest of 1644 and the first two months of 1645 in Hamburg. There Sir Charles became

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acquainted with the German scientist, philosopher, and pedagogue Joachim Jungius.²²

In the spring of 1645 the Cavendishes moved first to Antwerp, then to Paris, where they met Hobbes again; in May Sir Charles sent Jungius a summary of parts of Hobbes's draft of *De corpore*, and in June/July he forwarded a mathematical theorem by Hobbes to Pell.²³ His correspondence with Pell over the next few years supplies much detailed evidence of Sir Charles's intellectual life in Paris, though the emphasis on mathematical research in these letters must also reflect Pell's own professional interests.²⁴ Sir Charles acted as an intermediary between Descartes and Roberval in a dispute about the 'centre of percussion'; he also visited Mersenne and borrowed books from him.²⁵ The close interest he took in Hobbes's work during these years is indicated by numerous notes in a volume of Sir Charles's papers. These include detailed notes taken from the draft of *De corpore* in 1645;²⁶ notes on *De cive*;²⁷ a long summary of Hobbes's theory of the passions;²⁸ an extract from Hobbes's 'Answer' to Davenant's Preface to *Gondibert*;²⁹ as well as notes on works by Descartes, Regius, and Grotius.³⁰

In 1648 Sir Charles Cavendish travelled with his brother (and his new sister-in-law) back to The Netherlands. From Antwerp he continued to write to Pell, reporting news from his own correspondence with Hobbes, though this was very sporadic.³¹ In late 1651 he was persuaded (by his brother and Sir Edward Hyde) to return to England to negotiate with the authorities over his estates; he had compounded for them in 1649, but in March 1651 they had been sequestered again, on the grounds that he was a 'very dangerous person'.³² He travelled to

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London with his sister-in-law in November and took lodgings in Covent Garden.³³ By good fortune, Hobbes arrived in London from Paris only a couple of months later; and on 5 [15] March 1652 William Brereton was able to write to Pell that 'I have been with Sir Charles

Cavendish and Mr Hobbes several times, who are both here.³⁴ Sir Charles was mainly occupied now with salvaging what he could from his estate (for which a new composition fee was fixed at £4,500, with an additional fine of £500),³⁵ and sending funds to his brother in Antwerp. When Margaret Cavendish decided to return to her husband in 1653, it was Sir Charles's intention to accompany her; but he fell ill and remained in England. He died on 4/14 February 1654.

THE HON. CHARLES CAVENDISH (1620-1643)

The younger son of the second Earl of Devonshire, he was named after his godfather, Prince Charles. In 1637, 'after a strict tuition in his father's house'¹—possibly by Hobbes—he was sent to the Continent with a governor. All printed sources give 1638 as the starting-date of his French studies; but his mother's account-book records that £400 was 'sent to M^r Charles at Paris' from October 1637 to February 1638 (and another £400 from March to October after that).² According to one later account, 'He went first to Paris, and hearing much of the French army, then in the field near Luxemburg, was so impatient for such a view, that he stole away to the camp, without the knowledge of his governor, who, hearing of the frolick, followed him in great pain, and brought him back to his studies in Paris.'³

Charles Cavendish spent most of 1639 in Italy; on [17/] 27 February 1639 he dined in the refectory of the Jesuits' English College in Rome, just over three years after his brother and Hobbes had also dined there,⁴ and on [30 May/] 9 June 1639 his name was registered at the University of Padua.⁵ After Italy he was, as Aubrey put it, 'so extremely

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delighted in travelling, that he went into Greece, all over; and that would not serve his turne but he would goe to Babylon, and then his governour would not adventure to goe any further with him; but to see Babylon he was to march in the Turks' armie'.⁶ Babylon was on an itinerary which took him from Constantinople through Anatolia, down through Mesopotamia, to Alexandria, Cairo, Malta, Spain, and back to Paris.⁷ It must have been during this last stay in Paris that he met Hobbes again and had a conversation with him (recorded by Aubrey) about the pronunciation and intonation of modern Greek.⁸

He returned to England in May 1641, but left again almost immediately, travelling to Holland and enrolling in the service of the Prince of Orange. That summer's campaign over, he returned to England again in November.⁹ At the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the King's troop of guards; he so distinguished himself at Edgehill that he was made commander of the Duke of York's troops. Later he raised his own regiment in the north of England, and was

appointed commander-in-chief of the royalist forces in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, with the rank of colonel-general. In March 1643 he seized the city of Grantham; but in July of that year, aged only 23, he was killed in action outside Gainsborough, which was under siege by royalist forces. He was first buried at Newark, then reburied thirty-one years later in his mother's tomb at Derby. Famed for his courage and gallantry, he was described at his final burial service as 'the Souldiers Mignon, and his Masters Darling'.¹⁰

CHRISTIAN CAVENDISH, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE (1595 [/1596]-1675)

Christian Bruce was born on 28 December [/7 January], and was given the name 'Christian' (not 'Christiana', as it is sometimes printed) to mark the closeness of her nativity to Christmas. Her father, Edward Bruce (1548–1611), was one of the Scots who did well, deservedly, out of the accession of James VI to the English throne. A Lord of Session (i.e. judge) since 1597, Bruce was appointed Ambassador to England in

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1600, and helped to procure James's peaceful accession there. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1603, and Master of the Rolls for life; in 1604 he became Baron Bruce of Kinloss.¹ One of his sons, Thomas Bruce (1599–1663), was created Earl of Elgin in 1633.²

Christian Bruce was married to William Cavendish, the pupil of Hobbes and future second Earl of Devonshire, in April 1608—aged 12. The marriage came as a surprise to many. As the Earl and Countess of Arundel wrote to Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury:

The matter hath been soe secretly carried as it was never heard of any, till it was donne [...] the Queen heares that [...] the wench is a pretty red haired wench, and that her portion is seaven thousand pounds, and she heares the youth at first refused her and my lo. of Cavendishe told him Kinlos was well favoured by the Queene and if he refused it, he would make him the worse by an hundred thousand pound; but I am sure the Queene is far from beinge pleased withall nowe it is done.³

Another observer wrote that 'The bride is meetly handsome as they say, of a red hair, and about twelve years of age. Alas poor Wylkin, he desired and deserved a wife already grown.'⁴ The claim that James I himself gave her a dowry of £10,000 seems dubious,⁵ but the tradition that he persuaded the first Earl of Devonshire to give his son a better allowance after the marriage is entirely plausible.⁶

Christian bore her husband three children: William (1617), Charles (1620), and Anne. She appears to have been a dutiful and obedient wife, and, as such, incapable of preventing him from squandering large sums of money. His jewels alone were worth £3,000.⁷ So severe were his debts that in March 1628 a special Act of Parliament was passed to allow him to break the entail on his estates. On 14 [24] June he made an agreement to sell lands in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire to a group of friends and relatives (including Christian's brother Thomas and her stepfather, Sir James Fullerton), who undertook to pay off his money debts.⁸ Three days later he made a will, specifying

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'that my lovinge wief the Ladie Christian Countesse of Devonshire be Guardian to my saide sonnes, and to the Ladie Anne Cavendish my daughter, and have the educacion and bringinge of them up, duringe their severall minorities, and that she haue the receipte of all the rents, yssues, and proffits of myne, their, and everie of their lands and tenements duringe theire severall minorities'.⁹ The will was witnessed by Hobbes; two days later a codicil was added, leaving a sum of money to be divided among the Earl's servants, and recommending that she retain them in her service.¹⁰ The second Earl of Devonshire died on the following day.

His trust in his wife was clearly justified. She tackled the nearly thirty lawsuits with which the estate was encumbered,¹¹ and 'every day, after she had first Accounted to God for her self, she then took the Accounts, even to the minutest Expences, of what the preceding Day had consumed'.¹² In the first fifteen months of her widowhood she sold lands worth £7,700, but she was still obliged to borrow nearly £10,000 in 1630-1.¹³ Yet the removal of Hobbes from the Cavendish household for more than two years (1628-31) was obviously not an economy measure: it seems probable that George Aglionby was employed as a tutor for her sons in Hobbes's absence,¹⁴ and, as her biographer put it, Christian 'spared no cost in Breeding the young Lord: who in his Minority, was maintain'd both at Home, and in his Travels, beyond any of his Quality, and by her Care instructed also, by such Tutors, as could read to him, the most Accomplished Lectures, in all those Sciences that must Render him, a perfect Gentleman'.¹⁵ This statement is borne out by the payments of £800 a year to her younger son, Charles, while he was in Paris;¹⁶ the claim by one modern writer that 'to save expense, she herself undertook the early education of her children' is surely false.¹⁷

Hobbes was invited back in early 1631. As he later wrote in a legal document (of 1639), 'y^e said Countesse dismissed y^e then Tutor of y^e Earle her sonne, & receaued into that place one Thomas Hobbes';

although Hobbes had been 'discharged' in 1628, this new tutorship was an 'imployment he neverthelesse vndertooke, amongst other causes cheifly for this, that y^e same did not much diuert him from his studyes'.¹⁸ The occasion for the writing of this legal document was a dispute between the Earl and his mother over the management of his estates during his minority, which came to a head after he had attained his majority in October 1638; Hobbes both advised the Earl on his rights, and attempted to act as a mediator between him and his mother.¹⁹

With her son attaining his majority (and marrying in 1640), Christian withdrew from Chatsworth and Hardwick; she retained the use of Devonshire House in London, and had the use of the family's Leicestershire estates, centring on Leicester Abbey (which had been settled on her, to pass to her son Charles after her death).²⁰ But Leicester Abbey was destroyed in the Civil War, and she seems to have lived in or near London during most of the Interregnum. In 1649 or 1650 she began to rent a house at Roehampton, formerly known as Putney Park, from Sir Thomas Dawes, and within a year she bought it from him,²¹ Edmund Waller visited her there.²² Towards the end of the Interregnum she engaged in secret correspondence with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Earl of Norwich to facilitate the return of the King;²³ she also held discussions with Col. John Russell, one of the leaders of the secret royalist organization the Sealed Knot.²⁴ It was rumoured too that she had looked after Charles II's effects after the battle of Worcester.²⁵ But her royalist sentiments did not prevent her from encouraging her favourite grandson, Robert Rich, in his courtship of Frances Cromwell in 1656.²⁶

After the Restoration Christian Cavendish was visited several times at Roehampton by the King.²⁷ She entertained there on a grand scale,

as Christiaan Huygens noted when he dined at Roehampton in July 1663.²⁸ In the following month she received Clarendon there, writing to her brother that 'He did me the honour to come take his leave of me. I never saw him merrier nor look better,'²⁹ She let Devonshire House to tenants from 1666 onwards,³⁰ and thereafter lived permanently at Roehampton. A vivid description of the state she kept up there in her final years comes from the pen of the Florentine courtier and man of letters Lorenzo Magalotti:

She lives in a magnificent palace, behaving as something rather grander than a great princess. [...] She is waited on by gentlemen, and dines sumptuously every day. Her house is always full of visitors. Her chambers are full of precious furniture and silver. She sits up in a bed of case [...] under a sort of baldacchino [...]. The Countess does not move, and only gets up

when supported on the arms of two extremely beautiful damsels. Her 86 years of age [Magalotti was misinformed: she was 72] and the paralytic disease she has in her neck, which makes her head constantly turn from side to side like clockwork, do not prevent her from wearing petticoats of pearly cloth embroidered with flowers in bright colours, with large quantities of lace-work in silver thread.³¹

She died on 16 [/26] January 1675, and was buried at All Saints' church, Derby, in a ceremony which included the reburial with her of her, beloved younger son, Charles. The Duke of Ormonde wrote: 'I am glad the good old Lady Devonshire's interment was so suitable to the whole course of her life, full of honours, and with the respects of all sorts of people.'³²

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MARGARET CAVENDISH, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE (1623-1674)

Née Margaret Lucas, she came from an Essex gentry family with estates near Colchester. When her father died in 1625, her elder brother, John, became head of the family. He was a royalist, and in August 1642 he, his mother, his sister Margaret, and other members of the family were seized, and their house ransacked, by a local mob. On being released they travelled to the royalist stronghold of Oxford, where Margaret entered the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1643. She travelled with the Queen to Paris in 1644, and lodged with her first in the Louvre, then at Saint-Germain. In 1645 she enjoyed a long and at first clandestine courtship with the Marquess of Newcastle when he stayed in the French capital, and they were married in November or December.

For the next two and a half years they lived on borrowed money in Paris; it was there that she became acquainted with Hobbes, who was a frequent guest at her husband's table. Her own interest in scientific and philosophical matters was still embryonic, and her leading trait at this time was, to use her own word, 'bashfulness';¹ so it is unlikely that there was much intellectual contact between them at this stage. In 1655 she was to write, in the course of a denial that her own philosophical theories were borrowed from Hobbes: 'And for Master *Hobbes*, it is true I have had the like good fortune to see him, and that very often with my Lord at dinner [...] yet I never heard Master *Hobbes* to my best remembrance treat, or discourse of Philosophy, nor I never spake to Master *Hobbes* twenty words in my life.'² Nevertheless, she was later able to record two discussions she had listened to between her husband and Hobbes in Paris, one on the possibility of human flight, and the other on the existence of witches.³ Her comment there, however, that Hobbes had inserted into

Leviathan her husband's remarks on the differing bone-structures of men and birds suggests that she had never read the whole of Hobbes's book.

In July 1648 the Newcastles travelled to Holland; later that year they settled in Antwerp, where the Marquess remained until the Restoration. But in the winter of 1651–2 Margaret and Sir Charles Cavendish returned to England in the hope of salvaging some portion of the family

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estates.⁴ She spent the whole of 1652 in London, leading a secluded life; on one occasion she met Hobbes and invited him to dinner, 'but he with great civility refused me, as having some businesse, which I suppose required his absence'.⁵ With little else to distract her she devoted much of her time to writing poetry. Two volumes, *Philosophicall Fancies* and *Poems and Fancies*, were published in 1653; these included a group of poems setting forth an atomistic theory of matter—reflecting the influence, no doubt, of her philosophical brother-in-law, Sir Charles.⁶ Back in Antwerp from 1653 to 1660, she extended her writing to a number of different genres: prose observations, literary letters, and plays. After the Restoration, when she returned to England, she published several more volumes of her works: *Playes* (1662)—for which Hobbes thanked her in Letter 145—*Sociable Letters* (1664), *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (1666), and *The Life of William Cavendishe* (1667), a biography of her husband. In her *Philosophical Letters* (1664) she discussed, in a series of letters addressed to a female correspondent (possibly Lady Conway), the theories of chapters 1–6 of *Leviathan* and chapters I–VIII, XXV–XXX of the English translation of *De corpore*.⁷ In May 1667 she made a much publicized visit to the Royal Society, thus becoming the first woman to attend one of its meetings; and in one of her last publications, *The Description of a New Blazing World* (1666), a blend of fantasy-romance, philosophical conjecture, autobiography, and science fiction, she described herself as 'Honest Margaret Newcastle' and declared that 'concerning the *Philosophicall* World, I am Emperess of it my selfe'.⁸ She died suddenly in 1673, aged only 50.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST EARL, FIRST MARQUESS, AND FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE (1593-1676)

William's father, Sir Charles, was the first Earl of Devonshire's younger brother, being the youngest son of Bess of Hardwick by her second husband. Her stepson by her fourth marriage, Gilbert Talbot, passed over to Sir Charles the lease of Welbeck Abbey in north Nottinghamshire, and an option on the dilapidated castle of Bolsover in Derbyshire. These were later to be William's inheritance.

As a boy he displayed a special talent for horsemanship. In 1610 he attended the investiture of Henry, Prince of Wales, and was created Knight of the Bath. Two years later he joined Sir Henry Wotton's diplomatic mission to Savoy.¹ His father began rebuilding Bolsover Castle, but died in 1617; Sir William continued the project, fortified by the wealth brought by his bride, the heiress Elizabeth Bassett, in the following year. In 1620 he was created Viscount Mansfield, and soon after the accession of Charles I he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire; the earldom of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was granted to him in 1628, in recognition of his increasing administrative and political importance. Also in that year the death of his cousin, the second Earl of Devonshire, brought him closer to the Chatsworth Cavendishes; from his late cousin he also took over the lord-lieutenancy of Derbyshire. Doubtless he had already had many opportunities to encounter Hobbes during the latter's years as tutor and secretary to the second Earl (1608–28); and certainly Hobbes was acquainted with Newcastle's protégé Ben Jonson by 1628.² In his English optical treatise of 1646 Hobbes wrote that he had expounded his theory 'that Light is a fancy in the minde, caused by motion in the braine' to Newcastle at Welbeck 'about 16 yeares since',³ referring probably to the months immediately following his return from the Continent in November 1630.

It was during the next few years that Newcastle became famous as a Maecenas, with his colossally expensive entertainments of Charles I, including masques by Ben Jonson, at Welbeck in 1633 and Bolsover in 1634. His patronage of Hobbes is attested to not only by Hobbes's acknowledgement of a 'generous gift' in Letter 16, but also by the evidence in Letters 21 and 22 that Hobbes had been invited in 1636 to move to Welbeck and devote himself there to philosophical studies. Although Hobbes remained with the Devonshires, it is clear that he had more frequent contact with Newcastle and his brother in the late 1630s;⁴ and in May 1640 it was to Newcastle that he dedicated his first political work, the *Elements of Law*. (A more inconsequential treatise written for Newcastle and hitherto attributed to Hobbes, the 'Considerations touching the facility or Difficulty of the Motions of a

Horse', is in the handwriting of Newcastle's chaplain, Robert Payne, and can therefore more probably be attributed to him.⁵)

In 1638 Newcastle was put in charge of the education, both academic and moral, of the Prince of Wales; so it is possible that a recommendation from Newcastle eight years later helped secure Hobbes the post of mathematics tutor to the Prince. In 1641, under suspicion of involvement in the army plot, Newcastle was deprived of that post at Parliament's request. During the first year of the Civil War he played a crucial role in raising royalist forces in the north of England and securing cities for the King; he was created Marquess of

Newcastle in late 1643. But after the defeat of the forces commanded by him and Prince Rupert at Marston Moor in June 1644 he sailed to the Continent, staying first at Hamburg and then, from April 1645 till July 1648, in Paris. There he met and wooed Margaret Lucas (his first wife having died in 1643). During his stay in Paris he met Hobbes again, frequently invited him to dinner,⁶ and took a close interest in his scientific work: Hobbes's English optical treatise was written in the vernacular at Newcastle's bidding.⁷ He also discussed the psychology and physiology of the passions with Hobbes: a few paragraphs on love, anger, blushing, and the motion of the blood in Sir Charles Cavendish's notes are described there as 'Parte of Mr. Hobbes his answeare to my brothers quaeres'.⁸ The treatise *Of Libertie and Necessitie* was also written at Newcastle's request. On leaving Paris in 1648 he borrowed the sum of 100 pistoles from Hobbes, and left his collection of telescopes and microscopes with him as surety; this transaction was then converted by mutual agreement into the purchase of those 'prospective glasses' by Hobbes.⁹

From Paris Newcastle travelled first to Rotterdam and then to Antwerp, where he stayed for the rest of the Interregnum, taking little part in the politics of the exile and devoting himself mainly to the two arts at which he excelled: horsemanship and the staving-off of creditors. After his return to England in 1660 he was occupied for many years with the recovery and repair of his estates. He revived his literary

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interests, writing plays and poems and extending his patronage to Dryden and Shadwell; but there is little evidence of further contact between him and Hobbes. He was created Duke of Newcastle in 1665, and died in 1676.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, THIRD EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (1617-1684)

The future third Earl's father became second Earl of Devonshire in 1626, but died only two years later, his estates heavily encumbered with debts. His widow, Christian, took charge of the upbringing of her children.¹ In early 1631 Hobbes returned to her service as tutor to the young third Earl and his brother, the Hon. Charles Cavendish. It was probably in the years 1631-4 that this tuition included the preparation of a Latin digest of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: this manuscript consists mainly of passages in William Cavendish's hand, with insertions and corrections by Hobbes.² In February 1634 Cavendish took part in a performance of Carew's masque *Coelum Britannicum* at Court.³ It is possible that he and Hobbes spent some time in Oxford during the summer of that year;⁴ but by the autumn they were in France, and they

remained on the Continent (travelling as far as Rome in December 1635) until their return to England in October 1636.⁵

In October 1638 William Cavendish attained his majority. His mother got him to sign a general release accepting all the actions she had taken as administrator of his estate during his minority; having signed this, he began to suspect that she had misappropriated funds in order to buy lands for her own use. At his insistence, Hobbes 'drew a breife Note of what his Mother was accountable to him for, as neere as he could; & also informed [> him] in other things concerning y^e same'.⁶ It appears that Christian Cavendish then accused Hobbes of poisoning her son's mind against her: an elaborate legal statement was drawn up and signed by both Hobbes and the Earl in April 1639, stating in conclusion that Hobbes had advised his former pupil 'not to commence any suite against her. And for this information y^e said Thomas Hobbes neyther hath receaved nor demanded, nor expecteth any

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reward, but onely y^e testimony of hauing performed y^e part of a faithfull Tutor',⁷ The breach between them and the Countess seems to have been mended. On 4/14 March 1640 the Earl married Elizabeth Cecil, daughter of the second Earl of Salisbury.

The young Earl's induction into the responsibilities of public life was rapid. Less than a month after his twenty-first birthday he became Lord-Lieutenant of Derbyshire; he became High Steward of Ampthill in February 1640, and Joint Commissioner of Array for Leicestershire in January 1642. In June 1642 he was with the King at York; he was impeached in his absence, with eight other peers, and expelled from the House of Lords on 20/30 July. Ordered to be committed to the Tower, he fled the country. In 1645 he returned to England; in the following year, having been fined £5,000 and pardoned by Parliament, he retired to Latimers, a country house in Buckinghamshire. He kept in contact with Hobbes, seeking his advice on a tutor for his young son in 1646.⁸ But his correspondence with Hobbes was monitored by parliamentary officials: in 1650 Robert Payne was told by a friend, who had it 'from one who was an eye-witness', that a letter from Hobbes to the Earl had been 'intercepted by y^e grandees at west[minster], & after sent to y^e E of D'.⁹ In the summer of 1655, to general surprise, the Earl was placed under arrest—though released soon afterwards.¹⁰

Hobbes had re-entered the Earl's service not long after his own return to England at the beginning of 1652. He seems to have imbued his former pupil with a new interest in astronomy or optics: in 1656 the Earl bought a 'perspective glass' from the famous instrument-maker Richard Reeve,¹¹ and in 1659 the Earl bought Hobbes's entire collection of 'prospetive glasses' for £80.¹² But the Earl also had other, less intellectual interests: in November 1659 he wrote to a friend from Hardwick that 'I can only tell you that I am grown

a perfect lover of sports [...] I hope my cousin Bruce is grown grave and serious, for I am turned more jockey than ever he was.'¹³

After the Restoration the Earl was reinstated as Lord-Lieutenant of

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Derbyshire and appointed Steward of the High Peak. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society as early as December 1660; though never an active member, he continued to pay his dues to the Society until his death.¹⁴ During the 1660s he rented Little Salisbury House in the Strand from his brother-in-law; it was there that Samuel Sorbière met him in 1663, later recording that he had 'a great knowledge of the sciences'. 'Besides', Sorbière added, 'he was educated by Mr Hobbes, whom he loves and reveres more highly than people of his rank usually revere their tutors, when they are no longer with them in that capacity'.¹⁵ In 1669 the Earl entertained Cosimo de' Medici there; Cosimo's secretary, Lorenzo Magalotti, was equally impressed by 'his universal knowledge of the sciences, which he owes to his excellent education by Mr Hobbes'.¹⁶ William Cavendish was appointed a Commissioner of Trade in 1669; but otherwise he was generally inactive in public affairs. He died in November 1684, at the house which he had inherited from his mother at Roehampton, and was buried at Edensor, near Chatsworth.

CHARLES II (1630-1685)

In April 1638, just before his eighth birthday, Charles was placed under the governorship of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle. The young prince's character traits included 'vitality, independence, and assertiveness';¹ in a memorandum addressed to his young charge Newcastle observed, 'Sir, you are not in your own disposition religious and not very apt to your book'.² In 1641 Newcastle was obliged by Parliament to resign his post as governor. Charles joined his father at York, and was given nominal command of a troop of royal lifeguards; he was present at the battle of Edgehill, and sat as a peer in the Oxford Parliament. In 1645 he was sent into the West Country, and in the spring of 1646 he

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sailed first to the Scilly Isles and then to Jersey. He finally joined his mother in Paris in early July of that year.

Within a few weeks, Hobbes had been engaged to give Prince Charles lessons in mathematics—but only in mathematics, as Hobbes emphasized in Letter 45, and not in politics. News of this appointment had reached the Scottish Presbyterian Robert Baillie in London by 13 [/23] August; in a letter of that date Baillie remarked that 'the placing of

Hopes (a professed Atheist, as they speak) about the Prince as his teacher, is ill taken'.³ It was during this period of tuition that Charles seems to have adopted the attitude of bemused affection towards Hobbes which he was to retain for the rest of his life; in 1651 Henry Hammond reported a conversation in which Charles II had stated, as his considered opinion of Hobbes, 'that he was the oddest fellow he ever met with'.⁴

At the end of June 1648 Charles left Saint-Germain and travelled to Holland, from where he conducted several ineffectual or abortive naval operations, before landing in Scotland in June 1650. His military advance into England in the following year ended with his defeat at the battle of Worcester on 3/13 September; he returned to France in October, and took up residence at the Louvre in Paris. The next four years were spent in conditions of poverty, and of feuding between the two main factions among his advisers: the Anglican 'old royalists' (Hyde, Nicholas, Ormonde), and the 'Louvre group' (including Jermyn, Wilmot, and Percy). The latter group, which centred on Charles's Catholic mother, had a more pragmatic attitude to the religious settlement of England and Scotland, and favoured cooperation with the Presbyterians. Hobbes was awkwardly placed between these factions. He was favoured by Ormonde, and was one of Hyde's 'most ancient acquaintance';⁵ but he also enjoyed the patronage of Jermyn and Percy. His hatred of the Presbyterians⁶ must have distanced him from the Louvre group's policies; on the other hand his theory of the relationship between protection and obedience, as set out in *Leviathan*, was highly unpalatable to the old royalists. Hobbes presented a manuscript fair copy of *Leviathan* to Charles, hoping,

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apparently, to instruct him on the nature of the threat posed by priestcraft to civil authority.⁷ But the doctrines of *Leviathan* caused such offence to both factions of Charles's advisers (and to the two categories of priest, Anglican and Roman Catholic, at his and his mother's Courts) that, shortly before Christmas 1651, Hobbes was forbidden to come to Court: Edward Nicholas wrote to Hyde on 1/11 January 1652 that 'All honest Men here, who are Lovers of Monarchy, are very glad, that the K. hath at length banisht from his court that father of Atheists, Mr Hobbes.'⁸ Hobbes's own account, published a decade later, claimed that Charles 'was displeased for a while, but not very long', and that 'the very next Summer after his [sc. Hobbes's] coming away, two Honourable Persons of the Court that came over into *England*, assured him that his Majesty had a good opinion of him'.⁹

Charles left Paris in July 1654 for Spa (near Liège); he then spent eighteen months in Cologne, before moving to Brussels in March 1656; and the next four years were spent at various places in the Spanish Netherlands. On 26 May/5 June 1660 he landed at Dover, and three days later he entered London. Hobbes had already been advised by Aubrey to come to London in readiness for the King's arrival, and 'about two or three dayes' later he was

noticed at the gate of Little Salisbury House by the King, who 'put of his hat very kindly to him, and asked him how he did'.¹⁰ The two met again at Samuel Cooper's studio, and Charles ordered that Hobbes 'should have free access to his majestie'.¹¹ When Samuel Sorbière had an audience with Charles II four years later, the King showed him a miniature of Hobbes by Cooper which he kept in his cabinet of curiosities, and agreed with him that 'if he had been a little less dogmatic, he would have been much needed at the Royal Society; for there are few people who examine things as closely as he does'.¹² By this time (the summer of 1664) Hobbes was already receiving the pension of 100 jacobus (a coin worth between 21 and 24 shillings) for the renewal of which he later pleaded in Letter 210.¹³ The promise of 'free access' seems to have been kept, though

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there were limits to the privileges which Hobbes could gain thereby: his request that the King license the printing of *Behemoth* was turned down.¹⁴ As Aubrey later explained to Locke, the manuscript of this work was something which 'the King has read and likes extreamly, but tells him there is so much truth in it he dares not license for feare of displeasing the Bishops'.¹⁵ However, in July 1674 Hobbes did get Charles's permission to print his letter of complaint to Anthony Wood (Letter 197), after approaching the King in person 'in the Pall-mall in S^t James's parke'.¹⁶

It is not known when exactly Hobbes's pension ceased to be paid;¹⁷ Charles's administration suffered from chronic financial problems. The financial settlement at the Restoration had not satisfied his requirements; his foreign policy, which led him into two Anglo-Dutch wars (1664–7 and 1672–4), was influenced by his growing dependence on secret subsidies from France, and at home his attempts at a policy of religious toleration (the Declarations of Indulgence of 1662 and 1672) caused strong hostility in Parliament, with consequent battles over supply. The King's religious position was suspect; in the words of David Masson, he was 'as much a Hobbist as a crypto-Catholic; and, indeed, a mixture of Hobbism and crypto-Catholicism was the special court religion'.¹⁸ But Charles was determined not to go on his travels again; he weathered the storm of anti-Catholic hysteria of the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81), and admitted his Catholicism only on his deathbed, in February 1685.

SIR GERVASE CLIFTON (1587–1666)

Gervase Clifton was born just after the death of his father, and succeeded his grandfather at the age of four months. They were an old and distinguished gentry family, and he inherited large estates, centring on Clifton (south of Nottingham) and Hodsock (near Worksop, in north

Nottinghamshire, close to Welbeck Abbey). He matriculated at St John's College, Cambridge in 1603.¹ He was

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knighted at the coronation of James I, and was created a baronet in 1611. That year he married Lady Penelope Rich, daughter of the first Earl of Warwick and sister of the first Earl of Holland. She bore him a son, Gervase (Hobbes's future pupil), and died in 1613. His second wife, Lady Frances Clifford, daughter of the fourth Earl of Cumberland, bore five daughters and another son, his future heir Sir Clifford Clifton, before she died in 1627. When his third wife, Mary, widow of Sir Francis Leeke of Sutton Scarsdale, died in January 1631, Sir Gervase had a magnificent tomb built for all three wives in St Mary's, Clifton: at the base of the monument the visitor catches a hideous glimpse into a charnel chamber, filled with bones and skulls.

Sir Gervase's time was chiefly occupied with running his estates and performing his political and administrative duties. He was MP for the county in 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1628, MP for the borough of Nottingham in 1626, and MP for East Retford in the Long Parliament. This last seat was usually the preserve of the Welbeck Cavendishes, with whom Sir Gervase enjoyed a very close relationship.² They were often brought together by local business: in 1630, for example, when the Privy Council wanted to enquire into the attempts at fen drainage carried out by Cornelius Vermuyden, it set up a tribunal consisting of 'The Earl of Clare, the Earl of Newcastle and Sir Gervis Clifton, or any twoe of them'.³ Possibly it was through Newcastle's recommendation that Hobbes was employed as tutor to Sir Gervase's elder son on his continental tour of 1629–30. Newcastle and Sir Gervase were also brought together by their strong literary interests. In a letter to Newcastle in 1648, enclosing a copy of the first printing of Donne's *Biathanatos*, Donne's son wrote: 'you were pleased to looke vpon this Booke, when it was in an imperfect Manuscript (many yeares since) in the hands of S^r Ieruaise Clifton'.⁴ This need not imply that Clifton and Cavendish had seen the manuscript immediately after its completion in 1607–8, as the modern editor of *Biathanatos* has argued.⁵ But it is clear that Sir Gervase had literary interests from an early age: a letter sent to him by the poet John Marston in 1607 expressed the wish 'that ou^r

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acquaintance may grow to the deere title of frendshipp'.⁶ Sir Gervase had probably taken part in Marston's masque *The Entertainment of the Dowager-Countess of Darby* in August of that year, performing as one of the 'sons of Mercury'.⁷ Among his papers there is a memorandum dated 1630–3 and headed 'notes of those books or writings lent by my M^r out of his studdy': it includes 'S^r Jo Beaumont his fathers manuscript book & 10th satyre

of Juuenall translated by his father', and 'D.^r Dunnes verses young M.^r' (i.e. lent to the young Gervase Clifton).⁸ A letter from Charles Cotton senior in May 1639 also thanked Sir Gervase for the loan of his manuscripts, returning all 'except yo^r book of rapsodies'.⁹ The courtier and poet Endymion Porter was a friend and kinsman of Sir Gervase,¹⁰ and in 1634 Clifton became involved in the affairs of Porter's friend, the poet Sir John Suckling, whose mercenary courtship of a Derbyshire heiress, Anne Willoughby, was being resisted by both the girl and her father. The King directed Sir Gervase and Sir Thomas Hutchinson to intervene on Suckling's behalf;¹¹ they were able to report on 16 [/26] October that the girl had signed a note in Suckling's favour; but a few days later Suckling was soundly cudgelled by the rival suitor, Sir Kenelm Digby's brother, and in the end he failed to gain the girl's hand in marriage.¹²

Clifton's own marital history was checked only by deaths, not refusals. His fourth wife, Isabel, widow of a London merchant, John Hodges, died in 1637; his fifth, Anne, daughter of Sir Francis South, died in 1639; his sixth, Jane, daughter of Anthony Eyre, bore him two sons before dying in 1655; and his seventh wife, Alice Hastings, daughter of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon, survived him (but by only a few weeks) in 1666. The latter part of Clifton's life was clouded by two things; the behaviour of his dissolute eldest son, whom he disinherited, and the Civil War, in which he served as a commissioner for the King at Newark and Oxford, and was fined £7,650 by Parliament. According to Thomas Shipman, who knew him well, his total losses as a result of the war came to £80,000.¹³

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All sources are agreed that Sir Gervase Clifton was an exceptionally generous and noble-spirited man. Shipman celebrated his virtues in a poem entitled 'The Old-English Gentleman'.¹⁴ The antiquary Robert Thoroton, who was Sir Gervase's personal physician in his final illness, described him as follows: 'generally the most noted person of his time for courtesie, he was very prosperous and beloved of all. He Generously, Hospitably, and Charitably entertained all, from the King to the poorest Begger. [...] He was an extraordinary kind Landlord, and good Master.'¹⁵

WILLIAM CROOKE (D. 1694)

Andrew Crooke, the relative with whom William served his apprenticeship and later joined in business, was active as a printer and bookseller in London (at the sign of the Green Dragon, initially in St Paul's churchyard) from 1630 until his death. He took up his freedom of the Stationers' Company in 1629, and his first book was entered in the registers of the Company in February 1630.¹ In March 1637 he was called to the Livery of the Company.² He

specialized in plays; in 1637 he acquired the copyrights to Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* and *Bartholomew Fair*, and he added four more works by Jonson to his list in 1640.³ Since the first work by Hobbes which is known to have been printed by Crooke appeared in 1637 (*A Brieve of the Art of Rhetorique*), it is conceivable that Jonson, in the final year of his life, had recommended the printer to Hobbes. Thereafter all Hobbes's works printed in England (with the exception of his 'Answer' to the Preface to Davenant's *Gondibert*, and various unauthorized publications and translations) were issued by Andrew or William Crooke.

Andrew Crooke rose steadily through the hierarchy of the Stationers' Company: he became Under Warden in 1660, Upper Warden in 1663, and Master of the Company in both 1665 and 1666. The Fire of London destroyed much of his stock, however, and seems to have left him in some financial disarray. When he died in 1674 his widow, Elizabeth, who became the administrator of his estate, had to clear some large

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debts; the Stationers' Company appointed a special committee 'to examine the Acc:^{ts} formerly delivered in by M^r Crook in his life time', which concluded in May 1675 that Mrs Crooke owed the Company £110.⁴ When Elizabeth Crooke died in 1681 she left her estate to be divided between her four daughters: three of them were from a previous marriage, and the fourth, Mary, thus seems to have been Andrew Crooke's only surviving child.⁵

William Crooke has often been assumed, wrongly, to have been Andrew's son. He was in fact the son of William Crooke, a yeoman of Kingston Blount, Oxon.—who was most probably a brother or cousin of Andrew.⁶ The younger William was bound apprentice to Andrew Crooke from 1655 to 1663, and acquired his freedom of the Stationers' Company in November 1663.⁷ He began working independently as a bookseller in the years 1664–5 at the sign of the Three Bibles, on Fleet Bridge;⁸ but after the Fire of London he joined Andrew Crooke when the latter set up his new shop 'at the sign of the Green Dragon, without Temple Bar' (near Devereux Court, on the south side of the Strand just beyond the end of Fleet St.).⁹ He remained active as a bookseller, at that address, until his death in 1694. Unlike Andrew, William Crooke never held any office in the Stationers' Company. The books he sold seem generally to have been more miscellaneous, and aimed at a more popular market, than Andrew's stock: a list of seventy-four works available from his shop in 1678 includes popular works on gardening, carpentry, astrology, heraldry, and law; a number of farces, comedies, and romances; and a few works of popular theology.¹⁰ Without the intellectual backbone provided by his stock of titles by Hobbes, William Crooke's catalogue would seem very slight. Crooke benefited from Hobbes's loyalty, but suffered from his refusal to countenance the printing of those works, such as *Behemoth*, which had not been licensed. Only after

Hobbes's death was Crooke able to print that work, solemnly announcing that 'My Duty [...] has obliged me to procure,

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with my utmost diligence, that these Tracts should come forth with the most correct exactness,' and ending his epistle to the reader with the engaging remark: 'These things promis'd, there remains nothing but to wish for my self good sale, to the Buyer much pleasure and satisfaction.'¹¹

William Crooke died in 1694. The business was continued at the same address by Elizabeth Crooke; Plomer presumes that this was William's widow.¹² After only two years, however, she ceased trading, and all the remaining stock was sold off.

RENÉ DESCARTES (1596-1650)

Born to a prosperous family of *noblesse de robe*, Descartes eventually inherited and sold property from his mother's estate; this was to give him financial independence in later life. He was educated at the Jesuit college of La Flèche (1606-14), and graduated in law from the University of Poitiers. In 1618 he went to serve as a gentleman volunteer soldier under Prince Maurice of Nassau; at Breda he met the Dutch mathematician and scientist Isaac Beeckman, who stimulated his interest in physics and mechanics. In November 1619, while serving in the Duke of Bavaria's army at Neuburg on the Danube, he had the meditation in the 'poêle' (stove-room) in which he formed his large-scale project of finding a true philosophical 'method'.

In the winter of 1628-9 Descartes withdrew to The Netherlands to lead a secluded life of writing and studying. His *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* was written at this time, but left unfinished. In the early 1630s he worked on a scientific treatise, *Le Monde*; this was ready for publication in 1633, but he decided to suppress it after hearing of Galileo's condemnation in that year. As part of the same scientific project he also sketched a treatise on human anatomy, which remained unpublished in his lifetime.

Descartes's first published work was the *Discours de la méthode [...] plus la dioptrique, les météores et la géometrie*, which appeared in [May/] June 1637, and of which Hobbes (thanks to Sir Kenelm Digby) must have been one of the very first English readers.¹ Hobbes was particularly interested in the optical and mathematical sections of this book:

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his close study of the 'Dioptrique' is attested to by his own Latin Optical MS, written probably before his departure from England in 1640,² and by his detailed criticisms discussed in

his correspondence with Descartes (via Mersenne) in 1641.³ Hobbes also acquired from Mersenne (either directly or via Sir Charles Cavendish) copies of some of Descartes's letters on mathematics and mechanics: two such letters, written in 1638, survive in incomplete transcripts among Hobbes's papers.⁴ And Hobbes probably had an opportunity to study the various other mathematical manuscripts by or relating to Descartes which Sir Charles received from Mersenne in 1640: the 'Recueil du calcul qui sert à la géometrie', the 'Notes brièves sur la methode algebraïque de M^r Des Cartes' by Florimond de Beaune, and the treatise 'De la manière de trouver les tangentes des lignes courbes par l'algèbre et des imperfections de celle du Sieur des Cartes' by Jean de Beaugrand.⁵

In August 1641 Descartes's *Meditationes de prima philosophia* was published at Paris. Mersenne had sent manuscript copies of the work to several philosophers for their comments: their objections, together with Descartes's replies to them, were printed with the text. The terseness and barely veiled contempt with which Descartes framed his replies to the third set of objections suggest that he had correctly identified the anonymous author of them as Hobbes.⁶ A couple of years later, when a Jesuit priest asked Descartes for his opinion of *De cive* (which had been published with only Hobbes's initials, T.H.), he replied:

I think its author is the same person who wrote the third set of objections to my *Meditationes*. I find him much more clever in moral philosophy than in metaphysics or physics, though I cannot approve at all of his principles and maxims, which are very bad and very pernicious, insofar as he supposes that all men are wicked, or gives them reason to be so.⁷

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In 1644 Descartes published his major treatise on metaphysics and physics, *Principia philosophiae*. Sir Charles Cavendish wrote to John Pell from Hamburg in September: 'I beleeeve Mr. Hobbes will not like so much of Des Cartes newe booke as is the same with his metaphisickes, but most of the rest I think he will.'⁸ Three months later, having corresponded with Hobbes again, he reported: 'I perceive Mr. Hobbes joines with Gassendes in his dislike of De Cartes his writings, for he utterlie mislikes De Cartes his last newe book of philosophie.'⁹ In February 1646 Sir Charles noted that 'Mr. Hobbes confesses Des Cartes to be a goode geometrician';¹⁰ but when he met the French philosopher in the following month, he did not dare mention Hobbes's name to him.¹¹ It was against this background of mistrust and hostility that Hobbes implored Sorbière not to let Descartes know that *De cive* was being reprinted in Holland.¹²

In May 1648 Descartes returned to France, having received some misleadingly optimistic reports that he would be received at Court and granted a pension. He stayed in Paris for three months: there he was not only reconciled to Gassendi, but also introduced at long last to Hobbes (and Edmund Waller) at the home of the Marquess of Newcastle. 'Mr: de

Cartes and Mr: Hobbes have met', related Sir Charles Cavendish in August, 'and had some discourse, and as they agree in some opinions so they extreamelie differ in others, as in the nature of hardness.'¹³

In the following year Descartes published his little treatise on psychology, *Les Passions de l'âme*. This was as close as he would ever come in print to setting out his views on moral philosophy (though he had previously touched on such matters in his private correspondence with the learned Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia). When Sorbière had visited Descartes in 1642, and had rashly asked him whether (as Sorbière suspected) he was the author of *De cive*, he had replied 'that he would never publish anything on moral philosophy'.¹⁴

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Also in 1649 Descartes's friend Pierre Chanut, the French Ambassador to Sweden, transmitted to him Queen Christina's request that he travel to Stockholm to give her philosophy lessons. By November of that year he was installed in Stockholm and attending her at her appointed hour for tutorials of 5 a.m. In January/February 1650 he caught pneumonia, and on 1/11 February he died. Sorbière, learning of his death, wrote to Saumaise that he was one of the greatest algebraists and geometers in the world, and that he was recognized as such by Hobbes.¹⁵ Aubrey echoed this judgement: 'Mr. Hobbes was wont to say that had M^{ieur} Des Cartes (for whom he had a high respect) kept himselfe to geometrie, he had been the best geometer in the world; but he could not pardon him for his writing in defence of transubstantiation, which he knew was absolutely against his opinion and donne meerly to putt a compliment on the Jesuites.'¹⁶

SIR KENELM DIGBY (1603-1665)

Digby's father, Sir Everard, became a convert to Catholicism and was executed in 1606 for his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot. Nevertheless, Kenelm was also brought up as a Catholic.¹ His mother managed to salvage some property from the estate (which otherwise was confiscated by the Crown), and his branch of the family kept up its connection with that of his more prosperous kinsman Sir John Digby (later first Earl of Bristol). In 1617-18 Kenelm accompanied Sir John on the latter's embassy to Madrid. Later in 1618 he entered Gloucester Hall, Oxford, where his tutor was the famous alchemist and astrologer Thomas Allen, friend of John Dee and Thomas Hariot; other pupils of Allen at roughly the same time included Thomas Aylesbury (who was later Walter Warner's patron) and Robert Payne.² When Allen died in 1632 he left the bulk of his valuable library, and his 'concaue large burning glasse', to Digby.³ Digby left Oxford in 1620; he had fallen in

love with Venetia, daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, but his mother opposed the marriage and persuaded him to travel abroad. He spent two years in France and Italy (where he delivered several 'Orations' on language, happiness, and the human soul to the Accademia dei filomati in Siena),⁴ before travelling to Spain again at the invitation of his kinsman Sir John. There in 1623 he met Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, and joined the Prince's household; on his return to England he was knighted by James I.

Having married Venetia Stanley in 1625, Sir Kenelm spent more than a year (in 1627–9) as a 'private adventurer'—i.e., in effect, a licensed pirate—in the Mediterranean.⁵ It was probably during this voyage that he wrote his semi-autobiographical courtly romance, *Loose Fantasies*.⁶ Not long after his return to England he was made a Commissioner of the Navy.⁷ In 1630 he was converted to the Church of England, though he became a Roman Catholic again in 1635; and it was probably during the years 1630–3 that he first attended the gatherings of poets, Court wits, and liberal Oxford divines at Lord Falkland's house at Great Tew. In May 1633 Venetia Digby died. Rumour had it that Sir Kenelm had made her drink viper wine to preserve her beauty. Griefstricken, he retired from public life for two years, living in Gresham College, 'where he diverted himselfe with his chymistry, and the professors' good conversation'.⁸

From September 1635, however, Digby was on the Continent again.⁹ He went to Paris and was based there throughout 1636, returning to London by July 1637.¹⁰ Letter 20 (1 [11] October 1636) is the earliest certain evidence of his friendship with Hobbes;¹¹ Digby was so well known in English intellectual, literary, and Court circles that there can be little point in trying to guess who had been responsible for the introduction—assuming that they had already met in England. (If they met for the first time in France, the most likely point of contact was

Charles du Bosc, who was a friend of Digby, and who had known Hobbes and the Cavendish family since the 1620s.¹²) Nor would it be anything more than mere guesswork to argue that Digby introduced Hobbes to Mersenne, or vice versa, or that Mersenne introduced the two to each other.¹³

In 1639, having joined the circle of Catholic courtiers around Queen Henrietta Maria, Digby became involved both in schemes to raise money for English Catholics to support the King's expedition to Scotland, and in plans to negotiate on her behalf with the Pope. He was summoned before Parliament in early 1641, and, after a visit to Paris in the summer of that year, was imprisoned in London from November 1642 to July [1643], when he

was released and expelled from the country.¹⁴ During these years, stimulated perhaps by his friendship with the Catholic philosopher Thomas White (who is known to have stayed in Digby's lodgings in London in 1639),¹⁵ he wrote his major philosophical work, *Two Treatises* (published eventually in Paris in 1644). It is characterized by a combination of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic metaphysics with elements of the mechanistic 'new science'. Also during his imprisonment in London he wrote a criticism of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, which was published without his authorization.¹⁶

Back in Paris in 1643–5, Digby doubtless renewed his friendship with Hobbes. It may have been then that Hobbes presented him with a copy of the first edition of *De cive* (Digby having been in England when it was published), inscribed 'To Mr Kenelm Digby, most distinguished by his birth, his virtues, his knowledge, and his deeds, as a tribute from the author'.¹⁷ Jacquot and Jones have claimed that Digby had been shown the MS of *De cive* in the presence of Sorbière and Abraham du

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Prat.¹⁸ This claim rests, however, on a misreading: what Sorbière wrote was not 'Digbaeo', as Tönnies conjectured, but 'Diseroto'—referring to du Prat's friend Diserot.¹⁹

Between 1645 and 1648 Digby was accompanied by Thomas White when he undertook two missions to Rome, to negotiate with the Pope on behalf of Queen Henrietta Maria.²⁰ It was while staying in Rome on the first of these trips that Digby became acquainted with François du Verdu.²¹ He was in Paris again for most of the period 1648–54; there he would have been able to renew his friendship with both Hobbes and (from 1651) du Verdu, though one English visitor recalled that Digby led a secluded life: 'I was acquainted with Sir Kenelm Digby who lodged in the Colledg of Bon Coeur [...] he lived in Paris like an Anchorite in a long gray coat accompanied with a great English mastiff [sc. mastiff] and his beard down to his middle.'²² In 1654 Digby returned to England, and was soon rumoured to have become one of Cromwell's confidants, discussing with him the possibility of toleration for Roman Catholics. He was given a passport to travel to France again; he was in Toulouse and Bordeaux (where he met du Verdu again) in early 1657,²³ and later that year he delivered a lecture at Montpellier on the 'sympathetic powder', a method of curing wounds at a distance for which he tried to supply a mechanistic explanation.²⁴

Despite his Cromwellian links, Digby was well received by the King at the Restoration. Soon thereafter he made an appeal to the King for the abolition of all anti-Catholic laws.²⁵ But his energies during his final years were mainly devoted to science. In the late 1650s he had corresponded with John Wallis on scientific matters, praising Wallis, Wilkins, and Ward as

a 'worthy triumvirate'.²⁶ Digby was one of the first Fellows of the Royal Society (joining in December 1660); he gave a lecture on vegetation to the Society in January 1661, and was on the Council in 1662–3.²⁷ In 1664 he was banned from Court. During his last year (he died in 1665) he continued to hold gatherings of learned men in

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his lodgings, and, it has been claimed, 'often "wrangled" with Hobbes there'.²⁸ This claim may be based on Wood's report that Hobbes and Thomas White held wrangling disputes while both in their eighties, though Wood says that these disputes took place in White's lodgings in Westminster.²⁹ But it is very likely that Digby and Hobbes still saw each other: Digby's lodgings were on the north side of Covent Garden, and Hobbes stayed with the Cavendishes at Little Salisbury House in the Strand, a couple of hundred yards away. When Sorbière's friend Balthazar de Monconys visited London in 1663 he saw both Hobbes and Digby several times, sometimes on the same day.³⁰

The theories of Digby and Hobbes may have overlapped on some points, but there was plenty of scope for disagreement between them. When Seth Ward accused Hobbes of borrowing his theory of sensation from earlier writers including Digby, Hobbes replied: 'And for *Gassendus*, and S. *Kenelme Digby*, it is manifest by their writings, that their opinions are not different from that of *Epicurus*, which is very different from mine.'³¹ In the following year, 1657, when Digby received a copy of Ward's criticism of Hobbes, *In Thomae Hobbii philosophiam exercitatio epistolica*, he told Wallis that he had 'greedily read it over with much content and pleasure'.³²

SAMUEL FERMAT (1632-1690)

Samuel's father, the mathematician Pierre Fermat, was a lawyer who became a *conseiller* of the Parlement of Toulouse and a *commissaire* (magistrate) in the Chambre de l'Édit at Castres.¹ The date 1630 which is sometimes given for Samuel's birth² is incorrect; Pierre Fermat was married on [22 May/] 1 June 1631. Little is known of Samuel Fermat's early life, except that he studied law and gained a doctorate: in a document of 1661 he was described as 'docteur et avocat'.³ He pursued a

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legal career, and eventually inherited his father's office of *conseiller* at Toulouse.

As Letter 124 shows, it was de Martel who effected Samuel Fermat's introduction to Hobbes in 1657; de Martel may have known Fermat through mutual acquaintances at Castres and

Toulouse. It is clear from Fermat's letter that he also knew Abraham du Prat,⁴ and before the end of 1657 he had received a present of a book from Sorbière, to which he replied with an elegant Latin poem 'De mirandis Batauiae'.⁵ Fermat's skill as a Latinist was also later demonstrated in a volume of poems, *Variorum carminum libri IV* (1680), and in his only other original work, *Dissertationes tres* (1680), which included a Latin poem on marine biology, 'De mirandis pelagi'.⁶ After his father's death in 1665, Samuel (who was the sole heir and executor, according to Pierre Fermat's will of 1660)⁷ began to prepare his father's mathematical papers for publication. These were eventually issued as two books: *Diophanti Alexandrini arithmeticorum libri sex* (1670), and *Opera varia* (1679).

Samuel was not himself active as a mathematician, but he kept up an interest in the physical sciences. In 1668 he corresponded with Henry Oldenburg, praising the activities of the Royal Society and describing scientific meetings which he was attending in Toulouse.⁸ And in 1670 he received a volume by Boyle from Oldenburg—probably *Paradoxa hydrostatica*—which he also highly praised.⁹ His range of interests as lawyer, classicist, and scientist is indicated by his *Dissertationes tres*, which, apart from the Latin poem already mentioned, consisted of a treatise on Roman laws relating to soldiers, an essay on references to Homer in the works of classical legal theorists, and a detailed criticism of passages in Bacon's *Sylva sylvarum*,¹⁰ in which he referred to research by the Cartesian scientist Rohault and to Boyle's *Essay about the Origine & Venues of Gems*.¹¹ He also published a French translation of two classical works on hunting.¹²

PIERRE GASSENDI (1592–1655)

Gassendi's family background was humble: he was born in the village of Champtercier in Provence, where his father was a peasant farmer, and was taught at first by his uncle, the curate of the local church. He entered the College of Digne in 1599, and the University of Aix in 1609, where he studied philosophy and theology. In the years 1614–17 he was ordained a priest, received his doctorate in theology from the University of Avignon, became a canon of the church of Notre Dame du Bourg in Digne, and was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Aix.¹ During the next few years he evidently read widely in scholastic and modern philosophy (especially modern neo-Stoic and sceptical writers such as Lipsius and Charron), adopting an iconoclastic, anti-Aristotelian stance in his lectures. Gassendi's first published work was provocatively anti-scholastic: entitled *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus aristoteleos*, it appeared anonymously in Paris in 1624 with a preface explaining that this was only the first of a set of seven books on the subject. Of these, Gassendi

had certainly already written book 2, but he seems to have taken fright after the public condemnation of several other authors in the same year for maintaining anti-Aristotelian and atomistic theses, and suppressed it; it eventually appeared in the posthumous *Opera omnia* of 1658.² He continued to work, however, on his overall project of dislodging Aristotelianism from its privileged position in philosophical history. Letters written in 1626 and 1628 show that, in his attempt to redraw the map of ancient philosophy, he was now beginning to take a special interest in Epicurus.³

From 1628 to 1632 Gassendi stayed in Paris, giving private lessons in philosophy, pursuing his biographical and textual research on Epicurus, and forming close friendships with the sceptical humanist scholars Gabriel Naudé and François de La Mothe le Vayer. He also got to know Mersenne, whom he supported in his controversy with the hermeticist philosopher Robert Fludd by publishing a criticism of Fludd, *Epistolica exercitatio*, in 1630. Gassendi's other works of this

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period were on astronomy: *Parhelia, sive soles quatuor* (1630) and *Mercurius in sole visus* (1632).

Having returned to Provence in 1632, Gassendi devoted more time to the study of Epicurus, discussing his findings with the scholar, philosopher, and scientist Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, in whose house at Aix he was a frequent guest. But when Peiresc died in 1637 Gassendi put aside his work on Epicurus for several years; his next major work was a biography of his friend, *Viri illustris Nicolai Claude Fabricii de Peiresc [...] vita*, published in 1641. Two short scientific works followed: an epistemological essay on an astronomical topic, *De apparente magnitudine solis*, and a tract setting out a theory of inertia and acceleration, *De motu impresso a motore translato* (both 1642). This last work was attacked for its Copernican implications by the mathematician and astrologer Jean-Baptiste Morin, in a book entitled *Aloe telluris fractae* (1643); a reply written by Gassendi circulated in manuscript and was eventually published as *Apologia in Io. Bap. Morini librum* (1649).

In 1641 Gassendi had come back to Paris, and before long (probably via Mersenne) he had become acquainted with Hobbes. When exactly they first met is not known; Gassendi regularly attended Mersenne's weekly meetings at the Minim convent, and it was thanks to Mersenne that both Hobbes and Gassendi contributed sets of objections to Descartes's *Meditationes*, published with Descartes's text in 1641. The answers to the objections which Descartes supplied there prompted Gassendi to write a further set of counter-replies in 1642: these circulated in manuscript before being published (by Sorbière) in 1644 as *Disquisitio metaphysica seu dubitationes et instantiae*. Of this work, Sorbière later wrote, Hobbes was an enthusiastic admirer: he said that Gassendi was never greater than when 'beating back ghosts', that is, demolishing the entities of false metaphysics.⁴ Gassendi was in turn an

admirer of *De cive*; when he heard in April 1646 that Sorbière was planning to republish it, he wrote that, leaving aside its criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church, he could think of no author who had examined the subject more profoundly than Hobbes.⁵ From Hobbes's surviving letters to Gassendi it is clear that their relationship was not merely one of mutual admiration, but also of warm personal friendship; Gassendi

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was renowned for his gentle good nature, and his friendship was prized by all who knew him.

In 1644 Gassendi was elected Professor of Mathematics at the Collège de France. He also taught astronomy there, and published a work based on his lectures, *Institutio astronomica*, in 1647. That year also saw the publication (by a friend, against his wishes) of his *De vita et moribus Epicuri*, which he had intended as an introduction to his *magnum opus* on Epicurus and his philosophy.⁶ He was eventually persuaded by his friends to publish much of the material he had accumulated on this topic in the form of a commentary on the early biography of Epicurus by Diogenes Laertius, *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii* (3 parts in 2 vols., Lyon (1649)). But he remained dissatisfied with this work, and remodelled it extensively: the final version, *Syntagma philosophicum*, was published for the first time in the posthumous *Opera omnia* of 1658.

Gassendi resigned his chair at the Collège de France and, shortly after Mersenne's death in September 1648, returned to Provence, spending the next four and a half years in the south of France. His public controversy with Morin revived after the publication of his *Apologia* in 1649: Morin published a *Réponse* [...] *à une longue lettre de M. Gassendi* (1650); an attack on Morin appeared under the name of Gassendi's pupil François Bernier in 1651 (*Anatomia ridiculi mutis*); Morin replied with *Defensio suae dissertationis* in the same year; another work under Bernier's name returned to the attack (*Favilla ridiculi maris*, 1653); and Morin replied again with *Vincenti Panurgi epistola de tribus impostoribus* in 1654. In this last work Morin claimed that the real author of the two works attributed to Bernier was Gassendi himself, a claim which Sorbière, a loyal follower of Gassendi, evidently thought correct.⁷

In 1653 Gassendi returned to Paris. Lodging in de Montmor's house, he helped to ensure that his rich patron would gather round him those friends and admirers of Gassendi (and of Hobbes), such as Sorbière, Abraham du Prat, Charles du Bosc, and François de La Mothe le Vayer, who were later to form the de Montmor 'academy'. After a long illness (for which his treatment by Guy Patin involved, to Sorbière's disgust, frequent bleedings), he died on 14/24 October 1655. On his deathbed, Sorbière relates, he had received a copy of *De corpore* from Abraham du Prat, and greeted it with a kiss.⁸

MR GLEN

The first editor of Letter 17, Francis Peck, took the names of George Glen (MA Edinburgh, 1624) and Luke Glen (MA Edinburgh, 1664) from Wood's *Fasti*, and suggested that 'one of these, I presume', was the recipient of the letter.¹ Molesworth, following Peck, settled for George Glen;² he is certainly the less improbable of the two candidates, since Letter 17 was written twenty-eight years before Luke Glen took his MA. George Glen was a Scotsman (his entry in the Edinburgh University registers lacks the distinguishing note 'Anglus'),³ and it might be imagined that he had some connection with Christian Cavendish's own family, the Bruces. But George Glen's subsequent career as an Anglican priest does not suggest any link with the Cavendish family. He was never promoted to any Cavendish livings, being vicar of Doveridge (1635) and Marston-upon-Doore (1663), as well as a prebendary of Worcester (1660).⁴

The recipient of Letter 17 was probably the 'Mr Glen' who was a member of the Cavendish household at Hardwick and Chatsworth, receiving half-yearly wages of £10 in 1636.⁵ The Countess of Devonshire's chaplain, Robert Gale, received £20 in the same set of payments, and it is highly unlikely that she was employing two chaplains, one at half the wages of the other. We may guess that Mr Glen was a clerk, or perhaps a tutor to the Countess's younger son; but otherwise he remains entirely obscure.

PIERRE GUISONY

Little is known of this obscure doctor and scientist. In the preface to Gassendi's *Opera omnia* (1658) Sorbière included Guisony in a list of friends and pupils of Gassendi: he described him as a young man and a native of Cavaillon (near Avignon).¹ That Guisony was on good terms with both Sorbière and du Prat by the time he travelled to England in the first half of 1659 is evident from Letter 136. A letter from Jean

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Chapelain to Christiaan Huygens of [10/] 20 August 1659, about the meetings of the de Montmor 'academy', described him as follows: 'You ask me to tell you about this M. Guisony: I don't know him personally at all. I only know that he comes from Provence, and that he has a talent for physical speculations. One day at M. de Montmor's he gave an address on vegetation [...] which was very well received and seemed very sound.'² Encouraged, perhaps, by these comments, Huygens sent Guisony a copy of his *Systema Saturnium*.³ Guisony's reply does not survive, but full contact between them had clearly been established

by [18/] 28 November 1659, when Huygens wrote on Guisony's behalf to Gottfried Aloys Kinner von Löwenthorn to say that the 'Nobilissimus' M. Guisony was planning a trip to Austria ('Germania') with a friend, and that he would be able to remove any doubts Kinner might have about the truth of Huygens's arguments in *Systema Saturnium*.⁴

As Guisony relates in his earliest surviving letter to Huygens, he was unable to track down Kinner in Vienna; but on travelling subsequently to Italy, he did pass on another copy of Huygens's book to Giambattista Riccioli in Bologna, and had a long discussion with the Dutch scientist's rival, the telescope designer Eustachio Divini, in Rome. He also mentioned that he was a close friend of Claude Clerselier (the editor of Descartes's letters),⁵ and, in another letter, referred to 'the late M. Gassendi, my good friend'.⁶ Guisony spent much of 1660 in Rome, corresponding with Huygens and sending him books and reports of astronomical observations, some of them with the Jesuit scientist Honoré Fabri.⁷ Before returning to Avignon he begged Huygens to write a letter to the mathematician Michelangelo Ricci in Rome, which he promised to forward.⁸ More than four years later Guisony was still in contact with Ricci: in May 1665 Ricci told Grand Duke Leopoldo of Tuscany that he had received a letter from Guisony (whom he described as 'Medico e Matematico') in Avignon, containing news of

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Huygens's work on longitudes and claiming to have found a mechanical explanation of the strangest phenomena of magnetism.⁹

Guisony published one book, a short treatise in the form of a letter (dated Avignon, [2/] 12 February 1665) criticizing the use of Paracelsian chemical theories in medicine: *Petri Guissonii Doct. Med. epistolica dissertatio de anonymo libello (circa abbreviatum verae medicinae genus) ubi potissimum eventilatur principiorum chymicorum hypothesis*. It was published at Avignon (1665) and Frankfurt (1666). He was thus probably practising medicine at Avignon during this period. The treatise displays wide reading in contemporary research on chemistry and medicine, citing the works of Barlet, Willis, Digby, Boyle, and Glauber among others.¹⁰

THE HON. EDWARD HOWARD (1624-C.1698)

Edward Howard was the fifth son of the first Earl of Berkshire; although the sixth son, Sir Robert, was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford, it is not known whether Edward had preceded him there.¹ Nothing is known of his early life except that he took part, on the royalist side, in the 1643 campaign in the West Country.² Like two of his brothers (Sir Robert and James) he became a playwright: his tragedy *The Usurper* was performed at the

Theatre Royal in January 1664,³ and published in 1668. His second or third play, *The Change of Crowns*, was performed at the Theatre Royal on 15 [25] April 1667, to an audience which included the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and Samuel Pepys—who thought it 'the best that I ever saw at that House, being a great play and serious'.⁴ Unfortunately the comic actor Lacy added some indiscreet lines about the corruption of the Court, and Charles II banned all further performances of the play.⁵

In 1669 Howard published *The Brittish Princes: an Heroick Poem*, which celebrated the liberation of Britain from the Romans by three native-born rulers, Vortigern, Albanus, and Bonduca. In addition to Hobbes's comments (Letter 183), the prefatory material included poems by Sir John Denham and Lord Orrery. Three more plays were published (one of them, *The Six Days' Adventure; or, The New Utopia*, a

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fantasy-comedy in which women take over the government), and in 1689 Howard's piously royalist epic poem *Caroloideas* was printed. But the work which tells us most about Howard's own character is the collection of essays published in his *Poems and Essays: with a Paraphrase on Cicero's Laelius; or, Of Friendship* (1674). His essay 'The Dubitant', on his religious beliefs, shares some of the attitudes of Dryden's *Religio Laici* and has something of the tone of Browne's *Religio Medici*, with, here and there, a Hobbesian metaphor: 'I neither believe all, nor doubt all; what I finde my reason cannot swallow, I cannot perfectly digest'.⁶ In his essay 'Of my Selfe', he mentions an early interest in mathematics;⁷ and his essay entitled 'Mathematicks' contains the following tribute to Hobbes:

that high and noble endeavour of squaring the Circle, is very commendable, because were the Demonstration agreed on, it would furnish us with means to ascertain the proportion betwixt a straight and a circular Line, which were exceeding useful. And here I cannot but commend the worthy endeavours of Mr. *Hobbes*, who, say what his Detractors please, has come nearer it by a Geometrical way [...] than any that have yet attempted it.⁸

Howard's last published work was his prefatory poem to Dryden's translation of Vergil (1697), and he is presumed to have died soon thereafter.

CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS (1629-1695)

Huygens was born into an intellectual dynasty: his father, Constantijn, was a famous poet, Latinist, and diplomat, who worked as secretary to Prince Frederick Henry of Orange. The boy was educated at home by his father and by tutors who included Bruno, the author of a

Latin poem in praise of Hobbes printed in the 1647 *De cive*.¹ In May 1645 Huygens entered Leiden University, where he studied mathematics (with Frans van Schooten) and law. He was also encouraged by his father to correspond with Mersenne on problems in mechanics and mathematics.² From March 1647 to August 1649 he studied law at the

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University of Breda (where John Pell was Professor of Mathematics). On completing his formal studies he returned home to The Hague; he showed no inclination to follow his father in a public career, and devoted himself instead to a wide range of mathematical and scientific researches.

Huygens's first published work, *Theoremata de quadratura hyperboles, ellipsis et circuli* (1651), showed his mastery of an area of geometry which already had a special fascination for Hobbes. When his younger brother, Lodewijk, was in London in February 1652 he called on Hobbes, 'who at once began to speak about my brother Christiaen's *De Quadratum Parabolis et Hyperbolis*, etc., which Mr Brereton had given him a few days earlier. He praised it abundantly and said that in all probability he would be among the greatest mathematicians of the century if he continued in this field. He had heard Père Mersenne speak of him for some years already.'³ Brereton, who had got to know the Huygens family while studying mathematics with Pell at Breda, confirmed this when he wrote to Huygens a month later about the high praise expressed by Hobbes and Sir Charles Cavendish for his work;⁴ Huygens sent two copies of the book to England, intending them as presents for Hobbes and Sir Charles, but for some reason he changed his mind and asked his brother to direct the first copy not to Hobbes but 'à Oxford'—perhaps to Wallis.⁵ In 1655 Brereton sent Huygens a copy of *De corpore*: it reached The Hague after Huygens had left for France, and he does not seem to have had a chance to read it until after his return to The Hague at the end of the year.⁶ By the time he looked at it (in February or March 1656) he was already equipped with a copy of Wallis's *Elenchus*; writing to Wallis, he made no comment on the non-mathematical parts of the book, merely remarking that 'I am surprised that you thought it deserved such a lengthy refutation.'⁷

The five months Huygens spent in Paris in 1655 were very stimulating: he met Gassendi (just before his death), Roberval, Boulliau, Auzout, Mylon, Sorbière, and other scientists, and was told about current work by Desargues, Pascal, and Fermat—in particular, on problems related to games of chance. This led him to write a short treatise of his own on the laws of chance, which was translated into

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Latin by van Schooten and published in 1657.⁸ He also intensified his own study of astronomy; having received advice from lens-makers in Paris, he improved the design of his own telescope at The Hague and made important discoveries, first concerning Saturn's moon, Titan, then concerning the strange apparent shape of Saturn itself, which he identified as that of a planet surrounded by a ring. The first of these discoveries was announced in the pamphlet *De Saturni luna observatio nova*, of which Mylon sent a manuscript copy to Hobbes in April 1656.⁹ The second was discussed in *Systema Saturnium*, published in 1659. During the late 1650s he also worked on the design of pendulum clocks and the laws of motion and impact.

In October 1660 Huygens revisited Paris. Over the next six months he met Desargues and Pascal, demonstrated a new design of microscope, and was presented to the King. From March to May 1661 he was in London, where he met Oldenburg, Willis, and Sir Robert Moray. Later that year Sir Robert sent him a copy of Hobbes's *Dialogus physicus*: Huygens was unimpressed, finding 'nothing solid' in the arguments against Boyle, and not even bothering to look at the duplication of the cube at the end of the book, since 'Mr Hobbes lost all credit with me, in matters of geometry, a long time ago.'¹⁰ In July 1662 Sir Robert sent him Hobbes's *Problemata physica*, asking him to send Hobbes his comments on the mathematical propositions at the end of that volume; Huygens complied with Letter 148. From Letter 149 and another letter from Moray it appears that Hobbes then sent Huygens a printed sheet in reply; this work was identified by the editors of *HOC*, but no subsequent research has uncovered a single copy of it.¹¹ Huygens's opinion of it is clear enough, however, from Letter 149, which was sent to Hobbes with a copy of Huygens's little book of 1654, *De circuli magnitudine*.¹²

Huygens was at The Hague between May 1662 and April 1663, working mainly on mathematics, clocks, and (a new interest, derived from Boyle) vacuum-pumps. From April 1663 to May 1664 he was in Paris again, with the interruption of another trip to London from June to September 1663. This time his English visit coincided with Sorbière's;

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on 22 June [/2 July] they were both made Fellows of the Royal Society,¹³ and on 25 July [/4 August] they joined Hobbes as guests at the dinner-table of the French Ambassador.¹⁴ The nature of their discussion is, sadly, not recorded, Hobbes's efforts to pursue his geometrical dispute with Huygens took the form of a text entitled 'Epistola anonymi', which Sorbière conveyed to Amsterdam, for inclusion in the Blaeu *Opera philosophica*: Hobbes seems to have changed his mind more than once about this, first deciding to address it more openly to Huygens, then abandoning it altogether,¹⁵

On his return to Paris Huygens received a pension for scientific work from Louis XIV. When, three years later, the Académie royale des sciences was founded, he accepted an offer of a formal appointment. He travelled to Paris in May 1666, was given an apartment in the Bibliothèque royale, and lived there (with only two short visits to The Hague, for health reasons) until 1681. His great work on pendulum clocks was published in Paris in 1673,¹⁶ and his treatise on light was also completed there in 1678, having been stimulated, perhaps, by a long correspondence with Henry Oldenburg about Newton's theory of colours.¹⁷

In 1681 Huygens went back to Holland, again for health reasons. But this time political circumstances prevented him from returning to France. His work continued unabated, however; he managed one more trip to England, in 1689, when he finally met Newton, and he also started to correspond with Leibniz. He died in 1695, leaving a major work of speculative cosmology for posthumous publication.¹⁸

ROBERT LEEKE (1604 OR 1605-AFTER 1666)

Robert Leeke seems to have worked for most of his life as an agent and estate administrator for Sir Gervase Clifton. He came from a minor Nottinghamshire gentry family, branches of which included the Leekes of Grandby, Halam, Normanton, and Balderton. Sir Gervase was related by marriage to another Leeke family: his third wife, Mary, had a son by her first marriage to Sir Francis Leeke of Sutton Scarsdale. But

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although the pedigree of Robert Leeke's family is included with that of the Leekes of Sutton Scarsdale in the pedigree of Leeke entered at the College of Arms in 1717,¹ they shared no common ancestry. In a letter to Sir Gervase of 14 [/24] May 1637 Robert Leeke merely referred respectfully to Sir Gervase's stepson as 'M^r Leeke',² and in a period when even the most tenuous of connections seemed to justify the use of the term 'cousin', Robert Leeke never made any claims of kinship on Sir Gervase, always signing his letters to him with 'yo^r most dutifulle and bounden serv^t',³ or some such phrase.

His date of birth is supplied by the record that he was aged 61 in 1666;⁴ his father, Thomas, had married Emma Leeming, who inherited her father's property at Wilford (between Nottingham and Clifton). Another Robert Leeke (perhaps an uncle, but not recorded in the College of Arms pedigree) was farmer of the rectory of Wilford in 1604,⁵ In 1634 Robert Leeke (described as 'of Clifton, gent.') was licensed to marry Mary Goodwyn of Clifton, and the bond was entered by his father (described as 'Thomas Leake, parish of St Mary's Nottingham, clerk').⁶ In 1640 he married a second wife, Barbara Bowyer, daughter of George

Tate of Sutton Bonington.⁷ His eldest son, Gervase, was born at Clifton in 1641.⁸ His work on behalf of Sir Gervase Clifton sometimes took him to Yorkshire, where Sir Gervase rented estates belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge,⁹ and by September 1648 Robert Leeke had acquired an estate of his own at Horbury, near Halifax.¹⁰ He was resident there in March 1652, when he signed a petition as one of the chief parishioners of Horbury, requesting a minister for the parish.¹¹ Leeke is described as 'of Horbury in the County of York' in the College of Arms pedigree, and his grandsons Gervase and Robert were born at Horbury in 1666 and 1671.¹² He was one of the three executors named in Sir Gervase Clifton's will of 2 [12] October 1662, which added: 'And I give and bequeath to my Trusty freind and old

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servant Robert Leeke one Annuity or yearely Rent of Twenty Pounds dureing his naturall life in case he take upon him the Execution of this my last will and Testament,¹³

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ (1646—1716)

Leibniz was born at Leipzig, where his father was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the university and a practising notary. The young Leibniz had a precocious and huge appetite for reading, and entered the university at the age of 14. His dissertation for the bachelor's degree in philosophy, *Disputatio metaphysica de principio individui*, was published in 1663: in this work he showed that he already had some acquaintance with the metaphysical and logical theories of *De corpore*, describing Hobbes as even more of a nominalist than William of Ockham.¹ He spent the summer term of 1663 at the University of Jena; there he came under the influence of the mathematician and philosopher Erhard Weigel, whose work attempted to reconcile Aristotelian philosophy with the theories of Bacon, Gassendi, and Hobbes.² Leibniz was probably encouraged by Weigel to engage in a closer study of Hobbes's works: there are references to *De corpore* and *De cive* in his marginal notes (which have been dated to 1663–4) to books by Daniel Stahl and Jacob Thomasius.³ Leibniz returned to Leipzig in 1663 to study law; he proceeded Master of Philosophy in early 1664, and received his bachelor's degree in law later that year. For obscure reasons he was refused a doctorate in law at Leipzig two years later,⁴ and moved instead to the University of Altdorf, where he published his dissertation, *De casibus perplexis in jure*, in November 1666, and was awarded the degree three months later.

Also in 1666 Leibniz published the most important of the philosophical works of his student years, the *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria*. This was an attempt to develop the mathematical theory of combinations into a kind of universal logical calculus; it also included a demonstration of the existence of God. Leibniz paid special tribute in this work to

Hobbes: 'That profoundest examiner of basic principles in all matters, Thomas Hobbes, correctly proposed that every operation of our minds is a computation.'⁵

In late 1667 or early 1668, thanks to the patronage of the statesman Baron Johann Christian von Boineburg, Leibniz entered the service of the Elector of Mainz, Johann Philipp von Schönborn. From 1668 to 1670 he collaborated with one of the Elector's senior judges, Hermann Andreas Lasser, in a project to recodify and rationalize the corpus of Roman law. Manuscripts from this period, on the related topic of the foundations of natural law, reveal a continued preoccupation with Hobbes;⁶ in his correspondence during 1670 Leibniz referred to Hobbes's 'almost divine subtlety', praising him as the only person to have constructed anything like a demonstrative science of moral philosophy, and only regretting that he had misused his intellect to produce unacceptable conclusions on some matters.⁷ It is clear that by 1670–1 Leibniz was familiar with *De corpore*, *De homine*, *De cive*, and the other works contained in the 1668 Blaeu edition of Hobbes's Latin works.⁸ In an important unpublished letter of [27 April/] 7 May 1671 to Lambert van Velthuysen, Leibniz wrote that 'I am immersed as deeply as anyone in the philosophy of Hobbes's *De cive*. For me, all his points are diligently considered and thoroughly reasoned.'⁹

Stimulated by the recent work of Wren and Huygens on the impact of bodies, Leibniz composed his first major work on physics in 1669–70: this was published in 1671 under the title *Hypothesis physica nova*, and consisted of two essays, *Theoria motus concreti* and *Theoria motus abstracti*, dedicated respectively to the Royal Society in London and the Académie royale des sciences in Paris. In his attempt to explain here how motion could be continuous, he based his entire theory on Hobbes's concept of 'conatus' or 'endeavour'; one modern study of his writings on physics of this period comments that they yield 'an impressive harvest of close paraphrases of the corresponding Hobbesian sentences'.¹⁰

In March 1672 Leibniz travelled to Paris, on a diplomatic mission for the Elector of Mainz. Later that year he met Huygens, who stimulated his interest in geometry. In January 1673 he travelled on to London; there he visited the Royal Society, displaying a model of a calculating machine he had invented, and was introduced to Hooke, Boyle, and Pell. While he was in London he learned of the death of the Elector of Mainz, and in February/March he returned to Paris in some uncertainty about his future position. He spent part of 1673 tutoring von Boineburg's son in Paris, and corresponded with Duke Johann Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg at Hanover, who eventually offered him employment. Having renewed his acquaintance with Huygens, Leibniz mainly devoted himself during 1674–5 to mathematical and physical researches. He accepted the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg's

offer of a job in January 1675 but stayed on in Paris, supporting himself by taking legal and political briefs from various German princes. Only in late 1676 did he finally travel to Hanover, spending a few days in London *en route* in October.

Leibniz spent the rest of his life in the service of the ducal family, as legal counsellor, scientific adviser, librarian, and dynastic historian. In 1682 he helped to found the *Acta eruditorum*, a learned journal at Leipzig, and he was a prolific contributor to both this and the *Journal des sçavans* in Paris. Having been appointed historiographer to the House of Brunswick in 1685, he travelled widely in Germany, Austria, and Italy in 1687–90 in search of historical materials, making further contacts with scientists and philosophers in those countries. In 1693 he published a collection of legal documents in support of the claims of the Empire against the French, *Codex iuris gentium diplomaticus*, with a preface in which he set out his theory of international law. He later became involved in legal, diplomatic, and political work on behalf of several royal and princely courts. His most important philosophical works were written in the last two decades of his life: the *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain* (a response to Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, written in 1703–5 but not published until 1765), the *Essais de théodicée* (published in 1710), and *La Monadologie* (written in 1714, published in German translation in 1720 and in the original French in 1840). He died at Hanover in 1716.

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THOMAS DE MARTEL (B. 1618 OR 1619?, D. 1679-1685?)

Thomas Martel or de Martel (the latter being the form he usually used) was a member of one of the leading families of the Protestant town of Montauban (north of Toulouse). His great-grandfather André and his grandfather Jean were both *bourgeois* of the town.¹ André de Martel was described after his death as having possessed 'much property, both chattels and real estate, of great and considerable value',² and the old maison Martel was an important building opposite the Hôtel de Ville in the centre of the town: in 1609, shortly after the death of Thomas's grandfather, it was compulsorily purchased by the town council and demolished to make way for an extension of the town's principal Protestant church.³ Thomas de Martel's was the senior branch of the family; the junior branch, descended from André's younger son, included André Martel (1618–98), a prominent Huguenot minister, Thomas's second cousin and close contemporary. This André Martel became a minister at Montauban in 1646 and Professor of Theology at the Protestant Académie there in 1652; he was rector of the Académie when it was transferred to Puylaurens in 1659, where he remained before fleeing in 1685 to Switzerland.⁴ He wrote poetry, a manuscript philosophical treatise, a volume of

Theses theologicae (1653), and a *Réponse à la méthode de Richelieu* (1674) dedicated to Hervart, which was one of the last full-scale defences of Protestant theology to be published in France.

Thomas de Martel's father, Jean, studied theology,⁵ but later pursued a career as a lawyer. In 1618 he married Marguerite de Thomas: her father, Antoine, was *premier conseiller* in the Protestant town of Castres (east of Toulouse), and her sister was the wife of Samuel de Scorbiac, a *conseiller* of the Chambre de l'Édit there.⁶ Some time before June 1627 Jean de Martel began practising as a lawyer in the Chambre de l'édit at Castres; that is the earliest date in a long series of references to cases conducted by him in that court (which met both in

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Castres and in neighbouring towns) between 1627 and 1657.⁷ By 1657 he was described as dean of the lawyers of the court, and 'celebre lurisconsulte'.⁸ Various documents relating to his estates show that he lived mainly in Castres, though retaining properties in Montauban as well.⁹ His will was drawn up at Montauban in 1657;¹⁰ a final codicil of 1660 describes him as 'de Castres'.¹¹ The only sons mentioned in these documents, however, are Clément, Paul, and Dominique. Thomas appears to have been the eldest son;¹² it is probable that, as the first-born, he was named in honour of his mother's family (de Thomas)— like his cousin Thomas de Scorbiac. It is uncertain whether his full name was Thomas-Clément or Clément-Thomas, or whether he was omitted from the will because the French legal conventions of the period made it necessary for a will to specify only those intended beneficiaries who would not otherwise inherit automatically under the law. This is, unfortunately, one of many uncertainties among the biographical details of Thomas de Martel.

Thomas does not feature in the baptismal registers of the Protestant church at Montauban.¹³ Nor can his name be found in the surviving registers for the Protestant church at Castres;¹⁴ but these begin in 1620, two years after Jean de Martel's marriage, so it is possible to assume that Thomas was born in 1618–19.¹⁵ His name is absent from the list of students at the Protestant Académie of Montauban.¹⁶ The earliest trace of his existence is his diploma as bachelor of civil law from the University of Cahors: this document, dated [21 November/] 1 December 1638 and signed by Gérard de Carcavi, Chancellor of the university, states that he was examined by Antoine France and describes him as 'Thomas Martel of the city of Castres'.¹⁷ Cahors was a Catholic

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university; but Thomas's presence there probably reflects only the fact that law was not taught at the Protestant Académie. There is no evidence that he or his father ever abjured Protestantism; he was described by du Verdus as a Protestant in 1656,¹⁸ and his father left a benefaction of 300 livres to the Protestant consistory of Montauban.¹⁹

Within a few years of finishing his studies at Cahors, de Martel was in Paris. In the winter of 1641–2 he performed dissections there with the sceptical Gassendian scientist and ex-monk Laurent Neuré.²⁰ This indicated an interest in medical studies which was to remain a dominant feature of de Martel's intellectual life. In the summer of 1642 he visited Holland, bringing with him a letter of recommendation addressed to André Rivet from Jean Daillé, the Protestant minister at Charenton.²¹ He also visited Sorbière in Amsterdam, writing to him from Vlissingen on his return journey and regretting that he had known Sorbière only slightly in Paris.²² On his return to the French capital he sent Sorbière news of the latter's friend Abraham du Prat.²³ In other letters to Sorbière of 1642–3 he discussed Thomas White's *De mundo*,²⁴ Descartes (whose supercilious tone in his replies to the objections to his *Meditationes* he found irritating),²⁵ and de La Mothe le Vayer, whose recent work (probably *De la vertu des payens*) he highly recommended.²⁶ It was de Martel who sent one of the rare copies of the first edition of *De cive* to Sorbière, probably in May 1643,²⁷ and gently disagreed with Sorbière's complaint about the off-putting style in which it was written.²⁸ De Martel also sent books via Sorbière to Bornius in Utrecht, with whom he had apparently struck up an acquaintance on his visit to Holland.²⁹

During 1643–4 de Martel was an intermediary between Gassendi and Sorbière, helping to arrange the printing and publication of Gassendi's *Disquisitio metaphysica*.³⁰ In the prefatory epistle to Sorbière

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(dated [30 May/] 9 June 1643), Gassendi wrote that de Martel, 'that distinguished young man, your friend', would have told Sorbière already about the delays which had been caused by the circulation of Gassendi's manuscript between other hands.³¹ And in a letter of [18/] 28 November 1643 to Sorbière, Gassendi wrote of 'the most dutiful de Martel, a young man who is indeed extremely dear, deservedly, to all of us'.³²

The first sign of de Martel's personal acquaintance with Hobbes comes in a letter from de Martel to Mersenne of [28 October/] 7 November 1643, in which he mentions that Hobbes has called on him to ask him to return to Mersenne a manuscript by Marin Cureau de la Chambre (a commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*).³³ Obviously Hobbes too was charmed, like Gassendi, by his young admirer. In the early summer of 1646 he accepted de Martel's

invitation to stay at Montauban, where he hoped to complete his work on *De corpore*;³⁴ but the arrival of the Prince of Wales altered Hobbes's plans, and de Martel left Paris without him.³⁵ De Martel now showed his characteristic streak of uncommunicativeness: Sorbière complained to Bornius in March 1647 that he had heard nothing from him,³⁶ and remarked in August 1647 to Abraham du Prat that de Martel seemed to have forgotten all his Paris friends.³⁷ In [October/] November of that year Mersenne told Sorbière that he had had no news of de Martel for the last six months; de Martel was staying in Bordeaux, where he was pursuing a family lawsuit.³⁸ While in Bordeaux, de Martel was put in touch (by Mersenne) with François du Verdus; in [April/] May 1648 du Verdus wrote to Mersenne that 'his conversation is so learned and sweet that I am utterly charmed by it'.³⁹ Letter 59 shows that Hobbes received one letter from de Martel in Bordeaux, and attempted to reply to him; but in a letter later that summer (still from Bordeaux) de Martel told Mersenne that he had written several times to Hobbes without receiving any answer.⁴⁰ He also said in that letter that he was hoping to return to Paris soon; when he did so he renewed his acquaintance with Hobbes, and may well have been responsible for introducing du

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Verdus to him.⁴¹ But at some point during Hobbes's illness in August and September 1651 he had to return to Montauban, and for some time was unable even to correspond with Hobbes.⁴² By 1654 he was back in Paris.

From Letter 84 we learn that de Martel was a delegate from Languedoc to the Court of Louis XIV in early 1656. This implies that he had been a member of the Third Estate in the Estates-General of Languedoc in the previous year; it was the custom for a committee of the Estates to draw up a list of articles of grievance at the end of their sessions and have it taken to the Court by envoys elected for that purpose.⁴³ William Beik observes that 'these articles were taken very seriously. The trip to Paris was an occasion for real bargaining with ministers of state'.⁴⁴ However, since the town deputies at the Estates-General never served for more than two annual sessions in a row, de Martel's office in 1655 does not indicate anything that might be called a political career. Evidently he spent much of 1656 in Paris: in a letter of October of that year Sorbière sent de Martel's greetings, and added that de Martel was his guest in his house there.⁴⁵ Michel de Marolles recalled that he was introduced to de Martel (and to Abraham du Prat) by du Verdus in Paris;⁴⁶ in late 1656 Sorbière pronounced a 'discours' in a gathering of learned men, attacking de Marolles's claim that Paris was the best city and addressing himself to de Martel.⁴⁷ We learn indirectly from Sorbière that he, de Martel, du Prat, and de La Mothe le Vayer were meeting at du Bosc's house in Paris in early 1657,⁴⁸ and in 1659 du Bosc forwarded a copy of *De homine* to de Martel from Hobbes.⁴⁹

The two main sources for information about de Martel in the 1660s are the correspondence of Henry Oldenburg and the Parisian diary of the Danish scholar Ole Borch. Obscurity has been added unnecessarily both by the editors of the latter work, who identify him only as 'Martel, a French surgeon', and by the editors of *OC*, who persistently

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misidentify him as Jean-Pierre de Martel, a physician from Bordeaux. It is clear from the correspondence between Oldenburg and de Martel that they were personally acquainted; they must have met during Oldenburg's visits to France in 1658–60 as tutor to Richard Jones, the nephew of Robert Boyle. In the winter of 1658–9 Jones and Oldenburg visited Castres, took part in the meetings of the Académie there, and became acquainted with the Castrais scientists Pierre Saporta and Pierre Borel;⁵⁰ It is thus possible that the German met de Martel at the Académie (of which de Martel's cousin Thomas de Scorbiac was a prominent member);⁵¹ but there is otherwise no evidence that de Martel belonged to the Académie, and his name does not feature in the surviving lists of attendance there.⁵² It is more likely that Oldenburg met de Martel in Paris, to which Oldenburg and Jones travelled in the spring of 1659 for a stay of roughly one year. In [April/] May 1659 Oldenburg wrote to Saporta that he would seek out the friendship of de Montmor and du Prat in Paris;⁵³ so we may guess that it was through them, and through attendance at de Montmor's scientific gatherings, that he was introduced to de Martel.

Back in London, Oldenburg wrote to de Martel in September and October [/November] 1660, discussing a range of scientific matters;⁵⁴ and before 22 June [/2 July] 1663 he received the third of a series of letters from de Martel in Paris, from which (in a letter of his own to Robert Boyle) he quoted some passages in praise of Boyle, adding that de Martel was the author of a discourse on heat.⁵⁵ A comprehensive set of notes on this work is preserved in the travel diary of Ole Borch,⁵⁶ who had first met de Martel at the abbé Bourdelot's academy in December 1663.⁵⁷ Borch had frequent discussions of medical matters with de Martel;⁵⁸ he went with him on an excursion to Arcueil, to inspect the aqueduct;⁵⁹ and he also took copious notes from a chemical and metallurgical manuscript treatise communicated to him by de Martel.⁶⁰ In May 1664 Borch dined with de Martel, Auzout, and Huygens as guests of Melchisédech Thévenot,⁶¹ and his last dated

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meeting with de Martel, on [21 February/] 3 March 1665, was also at Thévenot's house, at a discussion which was also attended by du Verdus's friend from Bordeaux, d'Espagnet,⁶² In July or August 1665 a Parisian friend of Oldenburg wrote to him (Oldenburg) that Petit,

Auzout, de Martel, Thévenot, and others were all concerned about his health while the plague raged in London.⁶³

In April 1669 de Martel wrote to Oldenburg from Montauban, apologizing for such a long silence, and explaining that he had been 'overwhelmed by troublesome business'.⁶⁴ Both this and his next letter (also from Montauban) were sent via Marc-Antoine Benoît, who was born at Montauban and had spent most of his life in the service of the Earl (now Duke) of Newcastle.⁶⁵ The second of these letters contained a long disquisition on the causes of physical degeneration in old age, which was published in translation in the *Philosophical Transactions*,⁶⁶ It also contained observations made by de Martel on a recent trip through south-west France; he mentioned that he had undertaken 'various journeys', and that he was subject to 'various tiresome distractions'; and he sent his best wishes to Hobbes.⁶⁷

The nature of de Martel's distractions is not known. He seems to have played little part in public affairs. A litigant's declaration of [24 November/] 4 December 1667 refers to him as 'le Sieur Thomas Martel ad[uoca]t, de Montauban':⁶⁸ the bare description 'advocat' suggests that he was not practising at any particular court.⁶⁹ The only other office he can be shown to have held is that of Keeper of the Archives of the royal domain in the Montauban region; in 1675 his successor, Pierre Leclerc, was appointed,⁷⁰ and on [31 January/] 10 February 1679 Leclerc signed a receipt recording that de Martel had handed over the relevant documents to him.⁷¹ That is the last dated document indicating that de Martel was alive and living in or near Montauban. Thereafter he disappears from the records entirely. It seems likely that he died some time between then and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes

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in 1685. He is not mentioned in any of the lists of Protestant fugitives from Montauban after 1685,⁷² nor in the list of those citizens who had not yet made their abjuration in 1687.⁷³ Nor is he mentioned in any of the *procès-verbaux* concerning the estates of fugitives in 1689, though his brother Dominique does appear there: Dominique stated that his own properties were inherited from his late father, whose estate had been divided in a 'generale distribution' administered by Thomas de Scorbiac.⁷⁴ If Thomas de Martel did die between 1679 and 1685, it was not at Montauban, however. Elusive to the end, his name is absent from the burial registers of that period.⁷⁵

Haag suggests that Thomas de Martel emigrated to England, and was the ancestor of the Jacques and Isaac Martel who were directors of the French Hospital in London in 1757 and 1778;⁷⁶ but this claim seems to be based only on the fact that de Martel's remarks on old age were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Unaware of the origins of this text

in de Martel's letter to Oldenburg, Haag seems to have thought that de Martel was living in London in 1670, The presence of Martels in London in the eighteenth century is not significant; the records of the Huguenot church at Threadneedle St. show that there were various different families of Martel in London throughout this period.⁷⁷ Henri de France notes the presence of several Martels in both England and Prussia after 1685.⁷⁸ Gaston Tournier records that Dominique de Martel emigrated to Holland in 1688,⁷⁹ but this is contradicted by the evidence of the *procès-verbal* of 1689, already quoted,⁸⁰

ROBERT MASON (1588 OR 1589-1662)

The son of George Mason of New Windsor, Berkshire,¹ Robert Mason entered St John's College, Cambridge, as a scholar in 1606, proceeding BA in 1610 and MA in 1613.² It seems likely that he made the acquaintance of William Cavendish, the future second Earl of Devonshire,

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when the latter was studying at the same college in 1608, Cavendish proceeded MA in July of that year;³ he was joined in Cambridge by his new tutor-cum-companion, Hobbes, who incorporated at St John's College;⁴ and in November of the same year Hobbes brought his charge by coach from Cambridge to Derbyshire.⁵ It seems also likely, therefore, that Hobbes's acquaintance with Robert Mason dates from 1608.

Mason was a Fellow of the college from 1610 to 1632, and Senior Proctor in the academic year 1619/20.⁶ As Letter I shows, he had a keen interest in affairs of state; and within a few years of that letter he was participating in them actively himself. In early 1625 Secretary of State Edward Conway wrote to the Master and Fellows of St John's: 'I understand that M^r Robert Mason Fellow of your House, being to have an employment into France in his Maj:^{ties} Service, is to have some Dispensation from you, both for leave to be absent, & for enjoying the full benefitt of his Fellowship, during his absence.'⁷ Mason appears to have been a member of the retinue of the Duke of Buckingham when he visited France in May-June 1625 as Ambassador Extraordinary, charged with conveying the future Queen, Henrietta Maria, to England. Further employment—perhaps a mission to the resident Ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Herbert, and further work for Buckingham on the latter's trip to The Hague in November—seems to have followed later in the year: in December 1625 Buckingham wrote to the Master and Fellows of St John's that 'the Bearer hereof my Servant Robt: Mason, one of the Fellowes of your Colledge, hath since the first of May last been thrice employed in his Maj:^{ties} Service beyond the Seas'.⁸ Mason was secretary to the Duke of Buckingham

on the ill-fated naval expedition to the Isle of Rhé in the summer and autumn of 1627; leave of absence was again obtained from his college, this time by royal command.⁹ And in March 1628 he was rewarded for his services when a further letter from the King announced a special dispensation for Robert Mason, 'holding the place of a Physitian in our S[ai]^d Colledge', to proceed Doctor of Civil Law.¹⁰

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After the death of his ducal patron in 1628 (and a bequest of £500 in the Duke's will),¹¹ Mason seems to have decided that a legal career was the best path to further advancement. In 1629 he was admitted an Advocate of Doctors' Commons, and In 1633 he entered Gray's Inn.¹² In the same year he married Judith, daughter of Sir Christopher Buckle.¹³ His subsequent career was one of solid success rather than special distinction: he was chancellor to the diocese of Winchester by 1635,¹⁴ judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight by 1636,¹⁵ and later Master of Requests.¹⁶ In 1661 he was knighted. He died at Bath in 1662, having gone there to take the waters, and was buried at Bath Abbey on 27 June [/7 July].¹⁷ There are no traces of any further connections between him and Hobbes after their correspondence of 1622.

ADRIAN MAY (1603 OR 1604-1670)

Adrian May belonged to a numerous family. His grandfather Richard May was a London merchant. One of Richard's daughters, Elizabeth, married Baptist Hicks, first Viscount Campden: she left Adrian a legacy of £1,000.¹ Baptist May, the notorious courtier to Charles II, was also a nephew of the Viscountess, and thus Adrian's cousin. Adrian's father, John May, had an estate at Rawmere in Sussex, and was described as a gentleman ('armiger') when Adrian matriculated at St John's College, Oxford, in November 1621, aged 17.² By 1633 Adrian had the position of 'groom of the privy chamber' to Charles I.³ This was a coveted post, though it ranked below that of 'gentleman of the privy chamber'; Edward Chamberlayne later described it as follows: '*Grooms of the Privy-Chamber in Ordinary*, in number 6, all Gentlemen of Quality; these (as all Grooms) wait without Sword, Cloak, or Hat; whereas the Gentlemen wear alwayes Cloak and Sword,'⁴ A sign that Adrian May

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was held in good esteem came in January 1638, when he and his brother Richard were granted the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Statutes.⁵ And a sign of his growing prosperity was his purchase in 1641 of the estate of Little Dunmore, Essex, which was worth £294 per annum.⁶

During the Civil War, May was a trusted servant of the King: a letter of 4 [/14] May 1645 from Charles I (in Oxford) to Henrietta Maria (in France) begins: 'Dear Heart, the Rebels new brutish Generall hath refused to meddle with forrain Passes, so as yet I cannot despatch *Adrian May* to thee by the way of London which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West.'⁷ However, May seems to have remained trapped in Oxford, and in April 1646 he applied to compound with Parliament for his estates.⁸ Eventually he was allowed to compound on the terms laid down in the 'Oxford articles', the articles of surrender of the royalist garrison in that city;⁹ this suggests that he had still been at Oxford when it finally surrendered in June 1646. Some time after this he took up residence at Henrietta Maria's Court-in-exile, as the reference to attending Prince Charles at Saint-Germain in Letter 49 makes clear. However, he was back in England to compound for his estate by June 1649; he was fined £572, but this was reduced to £252 when he settled all the tithes belonging to his estate at Little Dunmore on the minister there.¹⁰ In August 1650 he was living in Chichester; he was still classified as a 'delinquent', and official permission was needed for him to travel to London to give evidence in a legal dispute on behalf of his uncle Thomas (who had succeeded John May at Rawmere).¹¹ In September 1651 he was presented with a further charge of £250 by the Committee for the Advance of Money, but this was dropped in December when he presented his certificate of composition.¹²

Wearied, perhaps, by these indignities, and having secured the residue of his estate, May returned at some time in the 1650s to Charles II's Court-in-exile. Writing to Robert Boyle in April/May 1658, Samuel Hartlib quoted an extract from a letter he had received from

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Zurich (most probably from John Pell), which referred to May at Charles II's Court in the Spanish Netherlands: 'It was observed in the court, that A.M. (which, I hear, was *Adrian May*) was wont to foretel the change of weather confidently and infallibly.' May had revealed his meteorological secret to the King: he had confined a 'great toad' in a corner of the garden, and went several times a day 'to see how her colours change'.¹³

May returned to England, presumably in the entourage of the King at the Restoration. That he had a penchant for gardens is suggested both by Hartlib's anecdote, and by his reference in Letter 49 to attending Prince Charles in his 'walks' at Saint-Germain; and in December 1661 he was appointed supervisor of the French and English gardeners employed at the royal palaces of Whitehall, St James's, and Hampton Court, with a salary of £200.¹⁴ His brother Hugh had already been appointed Paymaster of the Works,¹⁵ and was to play a prominent role in both rebuilding royal residences and designing new town and country houses, helping to introduce a new Anglo-Dutch neoclassical style,¹⁶ Adrian's career was the outdoor equivalent of his brother's: in 1663 he was described officially as 'surveyor of

the King's gardens',¹⁷ in 1665 he was paid £1,200 for 'levelling, planting, and other works' in Greenwich Park,¹⁸ and in 1669 he was appointed 'conservator of the waters' of Hampton Court.¹⁹ Adrian May remained a courtier as well as an estate manager: in 1663 he was listed once again as a 'groom of the privy chamber in ordinary'.²⁰ More tantalizingly, he was paid £1,000 in October of that year for 'secret services'.²¹ And he also enjoyed a profitable legal sinecure, the office of Clerk of Recognizances to the Chief Justices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.²² He died on 25 April [/5 May] 1670; his will does not survive, but on 6 [/16] October of that year administration of the estate of Adrian May, 'of the parish of St Martin's in the Fields', was granted to his brother, Hugh.²³

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COSIMO DE' MEDICI, GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY (1642-1723)

Cosimo's father, Ferdinando II (1610–70), was an enlightened ruler who took a special interest in the encouragement of the sciences. Together with his brother Leopoldo, Ferdinando patronized the Accademia del cimento, which began meeting at the Pitti Palace in Florence in 1657 and lasted for nearly ten years. Ferdinando wanted his son to receive a liberal and scientific education; but Cosimo's mother was determined that he should receive a much more traditional upbringing at the hands of the clergy, and she had her way.

When Cosimo was 16 the Lucchese ambassador at Florence reported that 'he is dominated by melancholy to an extraordinary degree, quite unlike his father'.¹ His melancholy was added to, rather than diminished, when three years later he was married off, by proxy, to a 15-year-old French princess (Marguerite-Louise, daughter of Louis XIV's uncle, Gaston d'Orléans) who had made evident her wish not to be married to him. She bore him a son, Ferdinando, in 1663, but relations between husband and wife remained awkward and unloving: in 1664 Princess Sophia of Hanover wrote that 'he sleeps with his wife but once a week, and then under supervision of a doctor, who has him taken out of bed lest he should impair his health by staying there overlong'.² Violent quarrels between them were common, and Marguerite-Louise spent some time under virtual house arrest at the country villa of Poggio a Caiano.

It was to take Cosimo's mind off his domestic troubles that his father decided, in 1667, to send him on a foreign tour. He travelled first to Germany and The Netherlands; in Amsterdam in December of that year he visited Johan Blaeu's shop several times to look at maps and travel books, and Pieter Blaeu acted as a guide to the city.³ On his return to

Florence Cosimo found his wife still unreconciled to him, so in the autumn of 1668 he set off on his travels again. This time he sailed to Spain, landing at Barcelona in late September, and travelling to Madrid a month later.⁴ He spent part of January and February in Lisbon, and made a brief visit to Coïmbra University, before sailing

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from Coruña to Plymouth (via Ireland) in March.⁵ From Plymouth he travelled to London, arriving there on [5/] 15 April 1669.⁶ Three days later he was visited by the Earl of Devonshire and Edmund Waller; and on [15/] 25 April he was received with due honour at the Royal Society.⁷ This, and the fact that he was later taken to see the telescopes which Sir Robert Moray had erected in St James's Park,⁸ gave English observers the false impression that Cosimo was as deeply interested in the sciences as his father.

Cosimo's brooding melancholy was not apparent, however—Pepys described him as 'a comely, black, fat man'⁹—and he kept up a busy schedule as a tourist. In early May he travelled first to Cambridge, then to Oxford, where the republican theorist Henry Nevile met him and became attached to him as a guide.¹⁰ On [19/] 29 May Cosimo came to lunch at the Earl of Devonshire's London residence, Little Salisbury House in the Strand;¹¹ it seems likely that he was introduced to Hobbes on this occasion, thus prompting the dedication by Hobbes of his *Quadratura circuli, cubatio sphaerae* later in the year.¹² On the following day Cosimo was entertained by Anthony Ashley Cooper, thus possibly scoring a rare double—meeting Hobbes and Locke (who was Cooper's secretary) on successive days. Cosimo left London on [1/] 11 June, and returned to Florence.¹³

Ferdinando II died a year later, and Cosimo succeeded him as Grand Duke. For four years his marital problems continued to plague him, until in 1674 Marguerite-Louise returned to France. (She was placed in a nunnery at Montmartre, where she chased the abbess with a pistol and a hatchet; she was then moved to a convent at Saint-Mandé, becoming Mother Superior in the place of an absconding transvestite.¹⁴) For a while Cosimo kept up his superficial interest in the sciences: in 1670 Sir Samuel Morland sent him examples of the speaking trumpet he had invented, and in 1679 he sent him one of his

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'arithmetical machines'.¹⁵ But Cosimo's correspondence with Henry Nevile (from 1671 to 1689) shows no curiosity at all about intellectual developments in England, his main preoccupation being the plight of English Roman Catholics.¹⁶ Tuscany under Cosimo's rule was turning into an increasingly repressive confessional state, with strong penalties for sexual crimes, and new ant-semitic legislation (forbidding Jews to send their children to

Christian wet-nurses, for example).¹⁷ Lecturers at Pisa University were forbidden 'to read or teach, in public or in private, by writing or lecturing, the philosophy of Democritus'; Cosimo's former secretary Viviani (the drafter of Letter 188) was reduced to hiding Galileo's manuscripts in a haystack.¹⁸ Despairing at the fruitless marriages of his two homosexual sons, Cosimo contemplated turning Tuscany into a republic; but he abandoned this idea in 1711. He died in 1723.

MARIN MERSENNE (1588-1648)

Of fairly humble origin (his father was an overseer of farm workers),¹ Mersenne studied at the Jesuit college of La Flèche from 1604 to 1609. Descartes was at La Flèche for some of those years, but Mersenne was eight years older, and there is no evidence that they knew each other there.² Mersenne then spent two years studying theology at the Sorbonne, and entered the order of Minim friars in 1611. From 1619 he lived in a Minim convent near the place Royale (now place des Vosges) in Paris. In his first published works, *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim* and *Observationes et emendationes ad Franc. Georgii ueneti problemata* (1623), he attacked those whom he regarded as magicians and deists—in particular, the English hermeticist Robert Fludd in the former work and the Venetian occultist Francesco Zorzi in the latter. His criticism of Fludd brought him the attention, and friendship, of Gassendi. In 1624 he published *L'Impiété des déistes* (a criticism of the *libertin* poem the 'Quatrains du déiste'), and in the following year his defence of scientific certainty, *La Vérité des sciences, contre les septiques ou Pyrrhoniens*. One year

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later the first of his scientific compilations was published, *Synopsis mathematica*, a collection of ancient and recent mathematical texts. By then Mersenne had already begun holding weekly scientific discussions at his convent, and developing the correspondence with learned men throughout Europe of which the surviving letters now occupy the seventeen fat volumes of MC. His close friendship with Descartes apparently dates from the latter's long stays in Paris in the 1620s, and when Descartes moved to Holland at the end of 1628 he entrusted Mersenne with directing all his French correspondence, Robert Lenoble has written that Mersenne 'discovered' the mechanistic world-view in 1634;³ but it can be argued that his interest in this kind of explanatory theory had undergone a more gradual awakening, having been stimulated in particular by a visit to Isaac Beeckman in The Netherlands in 1630. Mersenne made a careful study of Galileo's *Dialogo* in 1633, and in 1634 he issued a translation of Galileo's unpublished treatise on mechanics, *Della scienza mecanica*, together with two other treatises of his own (all paginated separately, but issued as a single volume): *Questions théologiques, morales, physiques et mathématiques* and *Les Préludas de l'harmonie universelle*.

It was at some time during the first part of his continental journey of 1634–6 that Hobbes was introduced to Mersenne⁴ —perhaps via those French mathematicians, such as Mydorge, who were already in touch with Sir Charles Cavendish. On his return to England Hobbes brought, probably from Mersenne, a copy of Galileo's *Della scienza meccanica*, which was translated into English for Sir Charles by Robert Payne on 11 [/21] November 1636.⁵ Hobbes later recalled that he had corresponded with Mersenne after his return to England in 1636;⁶ but Mersenne's occasional references to Hobbes in other letters do not indicate much direct communication between them, and it is possible that Hobbes's correspondence with Mersenne only began in earnest in 1640, through the good offices of Sir Charles Cavendish or Sir Kenelm Digby. By November of that year, Mersenne had prompted Hobbes to write the lengthy critique of Descartes's optical and physical theories which formed the basis of the correspondence between Hobbes and

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Descartes in 1641.⁷ Despite his old loyalties to the French philosopher, Mersenne was obviously keen to help and encourage the unknown Englishman: he invited him to write objections to Descartes's *Meditationes* (1641); he organized the printing and private distribution of *De cive* (1642); he made a careful study of Hobbes's long critique of Thomas White's *De mundo* (1642–3);⁸ and when he published two scientific compilations in 1644, he included material by Hobbes in both volumes. In *Cogitata physico-mathematica* he included work by Hobbes in the preface to the 'Ballistica' and in proposition 24 of that section,⁹ and in *Universae geometriae synopsis* he printed a short treatise on optics (a version of part of Hobbes's long letter of November 1640),¹⁰ and a discussion of telescopes.¹¹

Once these two volumes were published, Mersenne was able to fulfil a long-standing ambition and travel to Italy. He was away from Paris from October 1644 to September 1645. In Florence he met Torricelli, and in Rome he got to know other scientist-priests such as Kircher, Maignan, and Magni, and renewed his friendship with du Verdus. From April to August 1646 he was away from Paris again, this time in the south and south-west of France. For much of 1647 his life was clouded with illness, but he managed to publish a further scientific compilation, *Novarum observationum physico-mathematicarum tomus tertius*. During his final months he was especially interested in the theory of light, but his two treatises on optics and reflection, *L'Optique et la catoptrique*, did not appear until 1652, when Roberval supervised their publication as an appendix to Nicéron's *Perspective curieuse*. Mersenne died on [22 August/] 1 September 1648.

The comparative paucity of correspondence between Hobbes and Mersenne is due to the simple fact that for most of the period when they were personal friends, they were able to see each other often and did not need to write letters. In his autobiographies Hobbes

reserved special praise for Mersenne, calling him 'the best of men, extremely skilled in all kinds of philosophy', 'a learned, wise, and exceptionally good man'.¹² Mersenne's undoubted Catholic piety was no bar to his

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friendship with Hobbes (nor vice versa), though there is some evidence that Hobbes's negative theology may have shaken Mersenne's confidence in the power of reason to prove the contents of faith.¹³ When Hobbes was ill and, as his friends thought, on his deathbed in 1647, Mersenne visited him and tried to convert him to Catholicism; Hobbes, according to his own later account, merely changed the subject and asked for news of Gassendi.¹⁴ This story fits the nature of his friendship with the gentle friar rather better than the anecdote given by Aubrey: 'When Mr T. Hobbes was sick in France, the divines came to him, and tormented him (both Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Geneva). Sayd he to them "Let me alone, or els I will detect all your cheates from Aaron to yourselves"'.¹⁵

ALEXANDRE MORUS (1616-1670)

Alexandre's father, a Scottish Calvinist theologian, settled in France and became principal of the Huguenot college at Orange. In 1616 he transferred to the college of Castres, where Alexandre was born in September of that year.¹ Since both father and son used the Latin name Morus in France, it has always been assumed that their original name was More. But Alexandre signed himself Moriss; it seems likely, therefore, that Morus was used because of its similarity (when pronounced by a Frenchman) to Morris. When John Evelyn met him as a young man he recorded that his name was Morise.² Alexandre's first language was French, and the evidence of Letter 173 suggests that he did not know English at all.

Morus was educated first at Castres (until 1636),³ then at Geneva, where, in August 1639—at the age of 22—he was appointed Professor of Greek.⁴ In 1641 he became a minister, though not without arguments in the Council of Geneva about his dangerously liberal theological tendencies.⁵ It was at about this time that he introduced his friend Samuel

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Sorbière to the 'federal' theology (i.e. the doctrine of a conditional covenant between God and the believer) of the Saumur theologians Cameron and Amyrault.⁶ Nevertheless, in 1642 he was appointed Professor of Theology, and in 1646, Rector. He made many enemies in Geneva, and even his modern biographer and apologist admits that 'he had too great a portion of sarcastic wit, of irritability, and impatience, for his own peace'.⁷ In 1648 Morus accepted an invitation from Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia to become pastor and Professor of

Theology at Middelburg, This invitation had been procured for him by the Huguenot scholar Claude Saumaise; but although Saumaise admired and befriended him, the formidable Mme Saumaise took against him and began to spread the rumour that he had seduced her maid. Morus took the case to a civil court to clear his name, and further accusations were considered by a synod of the Walloon Calvinist Church at Utrecht: both of these found in his favour.⁸ In 1651 he considered applying for a post at Montauban, and acquired testimonials from Geneva for that purpose;⁹ he also got recommendations from Middelburg¹⁰ and planned to travel to Montauban, but this journey never took place. Instead, in 1652 he moved to Amsterdam, to take the chair of ecclesiastical history.

That year saw the publication of an anonymous work which was indirectly to cause him great harm: a fierce attack on the English regicides, and on their apologist John Milton, entitled *Regii sanguinis clamor ad caelum adversas parricidas anglicanes*. The author was almost certainly Pierre du Moulin; but Milton attributed it to Morus and composed a reply, *Pro populo anglicane defensie secunda* (1654), which raked up the story of Mme Saumaise's maid and added some further scurrilous accusations against Morus's private life.¹¹ Morus replied with a long and understandably aggrieved volume packed full of testimonials: *Fides publica, contra calumnias Ioannis Miltoni* (1654). But the damage had been

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done, and a dormant local scandal had been turned into a virulent international one.

In 1658 Morus moved to the Huguenot church at Charenton, outside Paris; he was summoned to answer more charges at another Walloon synod in 1659, but declined to appear on the grounds that he was no longer subject to their jurisdiction. For this he was banned from ministerial office in the Walloon Church.¹² At Charenton he was a controversial presence; as one of the most gifted preachers of the age he had a strong following, but another faction was fiercely opposed to him. Morus travelled to London in December 1661 and was well received at Court.¹³ On 12 [22] January 1662 Evelyn recorded: 'afternoone at S^t James's Chapell preached or rather harangued the famous Orator *Monsieur Morus* [...] in French: at which was present the King, Duke, French Ambassador, [...] & a world of Roman Catholics, drawne thither to hear the eloquent Protestant'.¹⁴ It was probably during this visit that he made the acquaintance of Hobbes—thanks, no doubt, to a letter of introduction from his old friend Sorbière. He returned to Paris later in 1662,¹⁵ was suspended from preaching at Charenton, and suffered further disputes and indignities until he submitted his case to the Huguenot synod in 1664, which vindicated his name. Rehabilitated at Charenton, he spoke a moving funeral sermon for Raymond Gaches in 1668.¹⁶ In these final years he enjoyed the patronage of the duchesse de Rohan, and it was in her house in Paris that he died, aged only 54, protesting his innocence of all the accusations against him.¹⁷

M. DE LA MOULINIÈRE

The name of the author of Letter 139 (enclosure) is supplied by Hobbes in Letter 140. I have been unable to find any trace of any person of this name in the rest of Sorbière's correspondence, published or unpublished; nor does the name appear in the published correspondence of Descartes, Mersenne, Patin, Fermat, Pascal, Huygens, or Oldenburg. De la Moulinière did not apparently publish anything, and his name is also absent from the AN 'minutier central' (the consolidated index of notarial records for the Paris region).

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CLAUDE MYLON (1617 OR 1618-1660?)

The third son of Benoît Mylon, Louis XIII's *contrôleur-général des finances*, Claude was admitted as an advocate before the Parlement of Paris in 1641, although aged only 23. His interest in mathematics was obviously well developed by 1641-2, when Frans van Schooten visited Paris, discussed mathematical problems with him, and was introduced to Pierre de Carcavi in Mylon's house.¹ Mylon studied mathematics with Roberval in the early 1640s, and his friendship with du Verduſ must date from the years 1641-3, when du Verduſ was also Roberval's pupil. One version of du Verduſ's compilation of Roberval's teachings bears annotations in Mylon's hand.² Claude Mylon was well known to Mersenne by the winter of 1644-5, when the Minim friar sent him several letters from Rome; in reply, he gave details of Roberval's latest work, asked for news of du Verduſ, and sent the best wishes of Roberval, Desargues, and de Carcavi to both of them.³ On [29 March/] 8 April 1652 Mylon observed an eclipse with Roberval in Paris.⁴

In the early 1650s Mylon served as secretary to the 'Académie parisienne', the post-Mersenne group of mathematicians (under the direction of Jacques Le Pailleur) which received Pascal's *Adresse* in 1654, and when Le Pailleur died in late 1654 it was Mylon who looked after the group's mathematical and scientific papers.⁵ He was visited in Paris by Huygens in 1655: after Huygens's return to The Hague, Mylon wrote offering to keep him informed of the latest mathematical and scientific work being done in Paris, but modestly adding that he feared there would not be enough material, and that he would have to 'consult my records and make use of them to send you propositions which are ten or twelve years old, and which you have not yet seen'.⁶ But he was able to send Huygens news of the latest work by Boulliau, Fermat, and de Carcavi,⁷ as well as sending theorems by Frénicle, de Beaune, and Le Pailleur to van Schooten.⁸ Mylon kept up a frequent correspondence with Huygens, mainly reporting other people's work (and,

in June 1656, his own correspondence with Hobbes),⁹ but occasionally putting forward theorems of his own. In June 1658 he offered a solution to the quadrature of a type of curve known as 'de Sluse's pearls', and in January 1659 he put forward a proof of Wren's solution to the problem of the length of the cycloid.¹⁰ 'These efforts', writes Pierre Costabel, 'stand as a monument to his inadequacies as a mathematician.'¹¹ His last letter to Huygens is dated [20/] 30 January 1660;¹² he is presumed to have died later that year.

HENRY OLDENBURG (B. 1617-20?, D. 1677)

Little is known of Oldenburg's early life. He was born in Bremen, where his father taught at a school, the 'Paedagogium', from 1610 to 1630. Oldenburg was educated first under his father, then at the 'Gymnasium' or high school, which he is known to have entered in 1633 (hence the inferred and approximate date of birth).¹ He studied philosophy and theology there, before moving to the University of Utrecht in 1641. How long he stayed at the university is not known; nor is there any specific record of his activities between August 1641, when he wrote to G.J. Vossius that he intended to find work as a tutor, and 1653, when he was sent by the city of Bremen on a diplomatic mission to Cromwell. Given his evident command of English, French, and Italian, it is assumed that he had travelled in those three countries, perhaps as a tutor to English children.

Anthony Wood states that the third Earl of Devonshire's elder son was taught by Oldenburg.² Although Wood implies that this happened after 1656, it may in fact have occurred during 1654, when, his first diplomatic mission completed, Oldenburg stayed on in London as a private citizen. An entry in the privy purse accounts of the steward of the third Earl for early July 1654 records: 'To M^r Oldenburgh allowed by my L^d. £3 10s'³ 'My L^d.' here indicates the third Earl's elder son, and 'allowed' suggests something more than a casual gift, but less than a payment of regular wages. Oldenburg was perhaps giving occasional language lessons. His acquaintance with Hobbes probably dates from

this period. Indeed, it is quite possible that it was Hobbes who introduced him to the Cavendish family, having met him through Sir Robert Honywood. Sir Robert, who lived in London in the 1650s and was later a member of the government set up by the 'restored Rump' at the end of the Interregnum, had many European diplomatic connections: he had been steward to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia in 1625, and was in the service of the Dutch States-General from 1629 to 1659. Hobbes may have been introduced to Honywood in 1652 by William Brereton, or he may have known him already through his own friends at the Queen of Bohemia's Court (such as Dr Samson Johnson): when Lodewijk Huygens

was leaving London in 1652, he 'went to see [...] Mr Honywood at whose home I met Mr Hobbes'.⁴ Oldenburg appears to have been tutoring Honywood's sons by the summer of 1654, and staying at Honywood's country house in Kent in May of the following year.⁵

Also from July 1654 (the date of the future fourth Earl of Devonshire's payment) there survives a letter to Oldenburg from Milton, indicating earlier acquaintance between them and containing the compliment 'You have indeed learnt to speak our language more accurately and fluently than any other foreigner I have ever known.'⁶ Later that year Oldenburg was employed again by the city of Bremen to invoke Cromwell's help as a mediator in a dispute between Bremen and Sweden. In May 1655, while staying at Honywood's house, he wrote a letter to the pious Lady Ranelagh, sister of Robert Boyle.⁷ He may already have made Boyle's acquaintance either through Lady Ranelagh or through another German émigré, Samuel Hartlib;⁸ so it is quite possible that Boyle was the 'friend' referred to in Oldenburg's letter to Hobbes of the following month.⁹ In early 1656 Oldenburg spent some time in Oxford, where, according to Wood, he 'studied [...] in the condition of a sojourner'.¹⁰ He became tutor to Lady Ranelagh's son, Richard Jones, in the summer of that year, and resided with him in Oxford for the Michaelmas term. During 1656 he seems to have established, through Boyle, links with leading Oxford scientists and future Fellows of the Royal Society such as Wilkins, Ward, and Goddard.

In 1657 Oldenburg embarked on a Grand Tour of Europe with his

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pupil: they spent the rest of that year in Saumur, then travelled in 1658 through Switzerland and Germany, before returning to Castres and Montpellier for the winter. In early 1659 they went to Paris, where they had introductions to Abraham du Prat and de Montmor;¹¹ they attended de Montmor's scientific gatherings several times, and Oldenburg became acquainted with both Sorbière and de Martel.¹²

Oldenburg returned to England in May 1660, and at the end of that year his name was included in a list drawn up by the twelve founders of the Royal Society of persons 'judged willing and fit to joyne with them in their design'.¹³ He probably joined on 26 December 1660 [15 January 1661].¹⁴ Thereafter, with the exception of a few months in 1661 when he travelled to Bremen (meeting Huygens and Spinoza on the way back to England), his life was entirely dominated by the Royal Society. He was named as one of the two Secretaries of the Society in the royal charters of 1662 and 1663; he took charge of the minutes and the letter-book; he started to publish the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665, and also encouraged the Society to undertake the publication of separate works by its Fellows. Through Joseph Williamson he arranged for his foreign correspondents' letters, addressed to

'M. Grubendol, London', to be delivered free of charge, in return for which he would supply Williamson with any foreign political news they contained. It seems to have been some rash political comment in Oldenburg's own letters during the Dutch war in 1667 which led to his imprisonment for two months in the Tower of London.¹⁵ But he was soon rehabilitated, and resumed his tireless work for the Royal Society, continuing to manage its voluminous correspondence until his death in 1677.

The references to Hobbes in Oldenburg's own letters of the 1660s and 1670s show that he shared the generally low opinion of Hobbes's mathematical abilities expressed by other Fellows such as Brouncker and Wallis. Describing to Huygens Hobbes's latest attempt to square the circle in a letter of 1670, he referred to him with jovial contempt as 'le bon homme Hobbes'—a phrase not adequately translated by the editors of OC as 'the good Hobbes'.¹⁶

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ROBERT PAYNE (1595 OR 1596-1651)

That only one letter between Payne and Hobbes has survived is particularly unfortunate, in view of the fact that he was one of Hobbes's closest friends.

Robert Payne was born in Abingdon, Berkshire; his father (also Robert) was a prosperous woollen draper who was four times mayor of the town.¹ From his father Payne was eventually to inherit several 'houses gardens orchards Mault howses and their appurtenances' in or near Abingdon.² In July 1611 he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, aged 15; he proceeded BA in 1614 and MA in 1617.³ In 1617 he studied and transcribed several treatises by Roger Bacon in the possession of Thomas Allen, Brian Twyne, and John Prideaux.⁴ The only work by Payne published in his lifetime appeared in 1619: a short Latin poem on the burial of Queen Anne, in a collection of memorial poems by dons and graduates of Oxford.⁵ In 1624 he became a founding Fellow of Pembroke College;⁶ his family connections were no doubt important here, since the Corporation of Abingdon played a major part in the foundation of the college.⁷ He was probably also the 'Mr Paine' who, in the same year, was an unsuccessful candidate for the Gresham chair of astronomy, losing to Henry Gellibrand.⁸ Another disappointment is recorded in a humorous poem of c.1626, entitled 'On the loss of C. Church proctorship, when mr Payne stood'.⁹

In 1630 Robert Payne became rector of Tormarton, Gloucestershire,¹⁰ though he does not seem to have spent much time there. In March 1632 he travelled there 'uppon summons

from our Archdeacon, under peine of suspension, to appeare in person at his visitation';¹¹ and in February 1646 the Committee for Plundered Ministers was to eject him from Tormarton, partly on the grounds that he had been absent for three years.¹²

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The earliest record of Payne's connection with the Welbeck Cavendishes is his copy of Thomas Hariot's *Artis analyticae praxis* (edited by Walter Warner and published in 1631), in which Payne wrote: 'A gift from the most noble Sir Charles Cavendish, 18 [/28] December 1631'.¹³ By 22 March [/1 April] 1632 he was employed as chaplain to the Earl of Newcastle. In a letter of that date sent to the Earl at Welbeck 'from your Lord^ps house in Clerken-well' he complained that 'some haue uniustly traduc'd me to your Lord^p. I know my obligations to your Lord^p are so many, and so greate, that were I guilty in that kinde, I should not need a more rigid confessor, then mine owne iudgment'.¹⁴ But his relations were generally very good with the Earl, who later described him as 'a Good Philosopher, and a Witty Man'.¹⁵ Most sources agree that Payne was an exceptionally pleasant, good-natured person; in an undated letter of 1633 or 1634 Ben Jonson wrote to the Earl of Newcastle: 'I received by my beloued friend M^r Payne your Lo^{ps} timely gratuity [...] I am in the number of your humblest seru.ts my Lo: and the most willing; and doe ioy in the good friendship and fellowship of my right learned friend M^r Payne, then whom your Lo^p: could not haue imployed a more diligent & Judicious Man, or that hath treated me with more humanitie'.¹⁶

Some evidence of Payne's intellectual activities comes from the mid-1630s: his correspondence with Walter Warner in 1634 and 1636.¹⁷ From these letters (mainly on optics) it appears that Payne was closer to Hobbes than Warner was—an impression which is confirmed by Letter 23. On 17 [/27] October 1634 Warner wrote to Payne: 'For the problem of refractions, which you write of, I pray you by any meanes send it to Mr. Hobbes, together with my most harty love and service, or whatsoever else you shall receive from me that may be thought worth the

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communicating'.¹⁸ At some time in the early 1630s Payne drew up a list of nearly 900 selected books in the Bodleian Library, arranged according to subject-matter: method, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, perspective, various philosophical topics (medicine, the physical sciences, and metaphysics), military matters, and politics.¹⁹ This list may have been compiled in 1631 as an aid to Hobbes when he undertook the tuition of the third Earl of Devonshire; alternatively, it may have come into Hobbes's possession only after Payne's death. Another such document drawn up by Payne,

datable to 1634, reflects Payne's own earlier philosophical interests: it is a list of medieval manuscripts given by Sir Kenelm Digby to the Bodleian in that year, and it is dominated by copies of works by Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste.²⁰ Both of these manuscript lists have previously been attributed to Hobbes; but they are in Payne's own hand, which closely resembled that of his friend. So too is the manuscript of the 'Short Tract on First Principles', a treatise which uses a deductive method to develop a mechanistic theory of human psychology.²¹ The assumptions of this work are certainly very close to those of Hobbes's early philosophical writings; but since it is in Payne's own hand, it can plausibly be attributed to him.²² In 1635 Payne translated into English a short treatise on hydraulics by Benedetto Castelli, *Della misura dell'acque correnti*: the manuscript is annotated 'by M^r Robert Payen' in Sir Charles Cavendish's hand, and was presumably written at Sir Charles's request.²³ Payne also translated Galileo's *Delia scienza mecanica* in November 1636—probably from a copy brought to England by Hobbes as a present to Sir Charles from Mersenne.²⁴ It was presumably also in the 1630s

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that Payne conducted chemical experiments with the Earl of Newcastle at Bolsover, which the latter described in his 'Opinions concerning the Ground of Natural Philosophy',²⁵ and compiled a brief treatise on a subject close to the Earl's heart, 'Considerations touching the facility or Difficulty of the Motions of a Horse'.²⁶

In 1638 Payne became a canon of Christ Church, and took to residing in Oxford. His friends there included Robert Burton, whose will contains a codicil entitled 'An Appendix to this my Will if I die in Oxford or whilst I am of Christ Church and with good Mr Paynes'.²⁷ It was probably through Payne that Hobbes and Burton became acquainted; the latter's library included Hobbes's translation of Thueydides and his *De mirabilibus pecci*, both annotated by Burton: 'gift from the author'.²⁸ Payne kept up his connections with Sir Charles Cavendish and Hobbes during these years. On 6 [/16] December 1639 Sir Charles sent him a copy of books 3 and 4 of Mydorge's *Conicorum*, which he had just received from the author; and in his accompanying letter he thanked him for the loan of a volume by the Dalmatian mathematician Marinus Ghetaldus.²⁹ In the following year, as he later mentioned in a letter to Gilbert Sheldon, Payne circulated one of the many manuscripts of Hobbes's *Elements of Law*.³⁰ In November 1642 Payne was created Doctor of Divinity (together with Jeremy Taylor and George Morley);³¹ also in that year he presented two gifts to his college, a 'brass instrument' by Gunter and a copy of Galileo's *Systema cosmicum* (the Latin translation of the *Dialogo [...] sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo*)³²

In 1648 Payne was expelled from Christ Church by the parliamentary Visitation, together with his fellow canons Henry Hammond, Robert Sanderson, and George Morley. According to Anthony Wood he was arrested and taken to London, and on his release went to live with Sir John Buckhurst at Swallowfield in Berkshire. But his letters to Gilbert

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Sheldon from 1649 to 1651 show that he was staying with his sister and brother-in-law in Abingdon, with occasional visits to Oxford, London, and Latimers (the Buckinghamshire residence of the third Earl of Devonshire).³³ These letters, which discuss university affairs and recent publications by Hobbes, Gassendi, Descartes, and Athanasius Kircher, also make frequent mention of Payne's correspondence with Hobbes in Paris. In a letter of 29 April [9 May] 1650 he reported that Hobbes 'much desires my company with him there'.³⁴ But they were not to meet again: Payne died in early November 1651, only a few weeks before Hobbes's return to England. His will was proved on 13 [23] November: it bequeathed his estate to the families of his two sisters and three brothers (one of whom, Francis Payne, became Mayor of Abingdon in 1658).³⁵

Learning of Payne's death, George Morley wrote to Sheldon that he had lost a friend of twenty years' standing: 'His Moralls were as good as his Intellectuals, and his Intellectuals such as I knew noe man had better: and both accompanied with a Modesty almost to an excesse'.³⁶ On 29 February [to March] 1652 he also told Sheldon that Hobbes would inherit Payne's papers, 'which he will but scorne': an unlikely claim, in view of Hobbes's evident affection for his old friend.³⁷ In a note written in Payne's copy of Hariot's *Artis analyticae praxis* John Wallis referred to Payne's manuscript annotations in that volume and added: 'There were divers other Mathematicall Books, at ye same time, brought out of D^r Pains study, [> and now put into y^e Savilian Mathematick Study as well as this] most of which have divers notes of his own hand writing in them'.³⁸ No exhaustive identification of these books (now in the Bodleian) has yet been undertaken; but the volumes annotated by Payne do include the following: Castelli, *Della misura dell'acque correnti* (Savile Bb 2); Mersenne, *Harmonicorum libri* (Savile Q 13); Galileo, *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche* (Savile Bb 13); Gassendi, *De apparente magnitudine solis* (Savile V 13(i)) and *De motu impresso* (Savile

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V 13(ii)); as well as the volumes by Hariot and Mydorge already mentioned.

FRANÇOIS PELEAU (BORN C. 1627-31; DIED AFTER 1672)

Although François Peleau's personal history is almost completely obscure, some details of his family can be established. The Peleaus were the *seigneurs* of Saint-Genès, an estate near Bordeaux;¹ François's grandfather, Arnaud, received his *lettres de bourgeoisie* of the city in 1590.² Arnaud's son Jean became *conseiller au parlement et commissaire des requêtes* in Bordeaux in May 1647.³ This Jean Peleau, François's father, is possibly to be identified with the Jean Peleau who, because of a sudden illness, made a will in September 1637 while he was on a visit to Paris: he is described in that document as 'avocat et parlm^{re} en la Ville de Bordeaux'.⁴ However, although legacies to various cousins are specified in the will, no children are mentioned. A M. Peleau, *secrétaire du Roi*, was a member of the 'Cent et Trente', the council representing the legal and merchant élite of Bordeaux, in 1649.⁵ A *procureur* Peleau of the Parlement of Bordeaux was one of the radicals described by a contemporary in the same year as 'seditious people, all of them'.⁶ Either or both of these records may refer to François's father.

François himself was a young man when he began corresponding with Hobbes in 1656; he described himself as 'a young boy',⁷ but he also wrote that he had been studying Hobbes's theories (using, presumably, one of the 1647 editions of *De cive*) for ten years,⁸ from which one might assume that he was in his mid- to late twenties in 1656. By this time he was already working as a lawyer;⁹ he was also engaged in translating various works into French, though the details of these projects are not known.¹⁰ His family connections seem to have enabled him to assist the publication of du Verdus's translation of *De cive*: at the end of the 1660

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quarto edition of that translation, the 'Privilège du Roy' and registration of the book are countersigned 'P[E]LEAV'—presumably François's father.¹¹

In 1668 one of Jean Peleau's other children, also named Jean, a *conseiller* at the Parlement of Bordeaux, married a Cathérine Duval;¹² she was perhaps a relative of the M. du Val de Tercis to whom du Verdus left most of his books in his will of 1666.¹³ Jean Peleau *père* died at some time between 1665 and 1672: in September 1672 'M[âit]^{re} francois de peleau Escuyer Aduocat en la Cour' litigated against his brother, 'M[âit]^{re} Jean de peleau con[seill]^{er} du Roy' over their father's will, which was dated [13/] 23 June 1665.¹⁴ This was not the only

legal dispute in the family; a more complicated litigation in the previous month involved a 'Jean peleau docteur en theologie' and 'Jean peleau con[seill]^{er} du Roy' on the one hand, and 'Joseph peleau, cons[eill]^{er} secretaire du Roy', 'Jean de peleau S[ieu]^r de Saint genes', dame Maure de Peleau, Estienne, and André Peleau (and others) on the other hand.¹⁵ Although the 'Joseph peleau' here has a different title from François, one puzzling piece of evidence suggests that they might be one and the same person. It is the homage to the King of 'Joseph de peleau, escuyer ad[voca]^t en la cour' of [25 February/] 7 March 1663, and it refers to 'Sieur Jean de peleau son pere conseiller secretaire'.¹⁶ Whilst 'Joseph' is the only Christian name used here, the signature 'Peleau' under this entry is unmistakably that used by François in his letters to Hobbes; one possible explanation might be that he was christened 'François-Joseph' or 'Joseph-François' and used both names. Jean Peleau, François's brother, died in 1698;¹⁷ but the date of François's own death is not known.

ABRAHAM DU PRAT (1616-1660)

Abraham du Prat was born in 1616, the younger son of Pierre du Prat, Protestant minister at Orthez (in south-west France, between Bayonne

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and Pau).¹ He studied medicine at the College of Béarn, then moved to Paris, where he was to spend more than half his life.² By September 1640 he had made Sorbière's acquaintance there,³ and it was probably around this time that he studied medicine under Guy Patin.⁴ Sorbière later recalled that it was in the presence of du Prat that Mersenne had shown him the manuscript of *De cive*;⁵ this must have occurred some time between [21 October/] 1 November 1641 (the date of the dedicatory epistle) and April 1642 (when Sorbière left Paris for Holland). On his departure from Paris Sorbière gave du Prat books which he wanted to return to Gassendi.⁶

By 1644 du Prat was living in Lyon; in a letter of [20/] 30 September from that city he asked Gassendi about the chyle ducts and expressed great feelings of friendship towards him. He told Gassendi that he was translating the *Institutiones anatomicae* of the Danish physician Caspar Bartholin (in the edition revised and augmented by his son Thomas Bartholin) into French, and wanted to add some of Gassendi's own anatomical observations.⁷ However, Gassendi replied non-committally;⁸ and in later correspondence with Thomas Bartholin in January 1646 du Prat felt obliged to assure the author that he never intended to add observations by Gassendi, knowing that Bartholin would disapprove.⁹ The translation was published in 1647.

At some time before December 1645 du Prat had found employment, on Sorbière's recommendation, with a member of the van Brederode family; but he was treated badly by his employer, and was soon seeking another post.¹⁰ On [3/] 13 December 1645 Sorbière wrote to him suggesting that he seek employment with the Earl of Devonshire.¹¹ In [August/] September of the following year Sorbière asked Hobbes if he could find work for du Prat; at that stage Hobbes had evidently not yet met him.¹² Abraham du Prat contemplated joining his brother Pierre in the service of the Protestant maréchal de Gassion, but by April 1647 he

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had moved to Saumur in the service of another prominent Huguenot, the financier Barthélemy Hervart.¹³ Later that year Sorbière dedicated his *Discours sceptique sur le passage du chyle* to du Prat, in which he summarized some of Gassendi's anatomical theories;¹⁴ as Sorbière explained in a letter to Gassendi, the work had been written at du Prat's suggestion.¹⁵

By January 1650 Abraham du Prat was back in Paris, still in the service of the Hervart family. There he renewed his acquaintance with Patin, and (taking Sorbière along with him) attended lectures Patin gave to his former pupils.¹⁶ He was apparently still seeking better employment; in July 1650 Sorbière wrote to André Rivet to recommend du Prat for a vacant lectureship at the University of Breda, describing him as a friend of Guy Patin and René Moreau and adding that were he not a Protestant he would be expected to have a chair of medicine in Paris.¹⁷ It must have been during his stay in Paris in 1650–1 that du Prat finally got to know Hobbes: his subsequent letters to Hobbes imply both friendship and personal acquaintance. Possibly it was through Hobbes that some of du Prat's manuscripts—notes on geography and travel books, and a copy of his brother Pierre du Prat's memoir of his trip to Holland in 1632–3—eventually found their way into a collection of Sir Charles Cavendish's papers.¹⁸ After Hobbes's departure from France, du Prat was able to renew his friendship with Gassendi when the latter was living in de Montmor's house from 1653 to 1655. In 1655 it was from du Prat that Gassendi received a copy of *De corpore*, a few months before his death.¹⁹ Du Prat naturally took part in the meetings of scientists and philosophers at de Montmor's house which grew into the de Montmor 'academy'; he pronounced several 'discours' there,²⁰ and in 1658 he and Sorbière drew up its rules.²¹

Despite du Prat's adulation of Gassendi, the description Sorbière gives of his assumptions in physics suggests a Cartesian rather than a Gassendist: 'the plenum and the infinite divisibility of matter being

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more to his way of thinking than the vacuum and atoms'.²² And when corresponding with Bartholin in 1646, he had defended Descartes's theory of respiration.²³ Du Prat never published any work of his own. Sorbière wrote in 1654 that he was expecting a commentary by him on the aphorisms of Hippocrates,²⁴ but this was apparently never completed. (The origins of this work are a little involuted: in 1646 Sorbière told du Prat that he was preparing annotations to the aphorisms of Hippocrates, which he hoped to publish with a dedication to du Prat, and asked du Prat to send him any new observations on the subject which he might have.²⁵ It may be that du Prat replied that he would like to arrange his own observations in the form of a similar volume.) His pharmacological notebook of the early 1650s reveals a wide range of reading in the medical authorities of the period,²⁶ and also includes a number of remedies derived from his acquaintances: many from Sorbière, some from the Lyonnais doctor Charles Spon (e.g. fo. 32^r), from de Mayerne (fo. 36^r), from Dufour (fo. 11^r), from Pecquet (fo. 92^r), or from de Martel (fo. 124^v), and a cure for the tertian ague from Gassendi himself (fo. 126^r). An undated jotting at the beginning of the volume records: 'books lent: to M. Sorbière, *Leviathan*'.²⁷

Abraham du Prat died on [23 February/] 4 March 1660²⁸ He was buried in the Cimetière des Saints Pères in Paris, where he was described in the register as a doctor of medicine, royal counsellor, and physician.²⁹

FRANÇOIS DU PRAT (B. C. 1636-40; D. AFTER 1691)

François du Prat's date of birth is uncertain, but several reasons for placing it in the period 1636-40 are given below.

His father, Pierre (son of the Protestant minister of the same name, and elder brother of Abraham), completed his studies in theology at Sedan in 1626, and a few years later became pastor at Lisy in the Ile de

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France;¹ from September 1632 to June 1633 he studied at Leiden, before returning to Paris via London.² In June 1634 he married Anne de Gombaud at Charenton.³ However, according to Sorbière the mother of François du Prat was English,⁴ a claim which the faultless English of some of François's later letters helps to strengthen. He was thus presumably the offspring of a second marriage.

One volume of François du Prat's manuscripts contains a schoolboy exercise, a literary dialogue in Latin between him and his father (dated 1649), from which one would guess his

age to have been somewhere between 9 and 13.⁵ Entries in his commonplace-book (itself dated 1654 but including entries dated 1653 and 1657)⁶ are in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, displaying wide reading, especially in medicine, classical studies, and history. Gassendi is frequently cited, and so too are approved Protestant scholars such as Saumaise, Heinsius, and Bochart. From this one would guess that he was in his late teens in 1654. He also later recorded having observed two partial eclipses of the sun, one at Samois-sur-Seine (near Charenton) in 1652, the other at Dangeau (south of Chartres in the Beauce region: 'Dangae Belsiae') in 1654.⁷ During this period Pierre du Prat was probably in the service of the marquis de Dangeau,⁸ and it was from Dangeau that the young François du Prat wrote a letter to Gassendi on [26 November/] 6 December 1654.⁹

In 1657, probably through his uncle's connection with Hobbes, he was employed as tutor and travelling companion to the third Earl of Devonshire's elder son, William (the future fourth Earl and first Duke), who travelled to France in May.¹⁰ This employment lasted until early 1661: in the autumn of that year François du Prat mentioned that he had been away from Paris for three or four years,¹¹ and when Sorbière talked to him two years later he learned that 'he had already seen almost all of Europe with Lord Cavendish'.¹² Having returned with

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William Cavendish to England, du Prat received a final payment of wages amounting to £20. 5s. 11d. on 8 [18] March 1661;¹³ he was in Paris again before [2/] 12 May.¹⁴ His next known employment was in the service of Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, who was appointed Governor of the newly acquired territory of Tangier in September 1661 and travelled there in January 1662: du Prat (who was in London again in September 1661)¹⁵ went with him to Tangier as his secretary.¹⁶ A notebook in du Prat's hand survives, containing copies of official documents relating to Tangier (for example, statements by merchants for and against the creation of a 'Morocco Company', and a copy of the Earl of Peterborough's commission as Governor), together with 'A Discourse of Oran' dated 7 [17] January 1663 (on the desirability of gaining control of that port from the Spanish) and 'Sundry particulars relating to [...] Tanger' (in which the author, presumably du Prat himself, proposes colonizing the Moroccan coast with Protestants from France, Switzerland, and the Valtelline).¹⁷ While at Tangier du Prat must also have come to the notice of Edward Mountagu, first Earl of Sandwich, who had taken possession of the place in early 1661.

In 1663 du Prat returned to England, where the Earl of Peterborough dispensed with his services; he left England with Sorbière in mid-September of that year,¹⁸ and returned to Paris. At the Earl of Peterborough's suggestion,¹⁹ he was now engaged as tutor-cum-travelling companion to Edward Mountagu, Lord Hinchinbrooke, the eldest son of the Earl

of Sandwich. Sandwich's modern biographer writes that du Prat was chosen for this job by Sandwich's cousin Walter Mountagu, the Catholic convert who had become Abbot of Pontoise.²⁰ But du Prat was engaged by 21 November/1 December 1663;²¹ on 2/12 March 1664 he wrote to inform Sandwich about the proposed journey with his son,²² and it was only two months later that Walter Mountagu wrote to Sandwich that 'I find the person very well chosen and your sonns person well suted to such a compaign rather then a gouvernor I

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am persuaded he will haue an equall share in the managing discreetly all his occasions.'²³

Du Prat and Hinchinbrooke left Paris on [14/] 24 May 1664,²⁴ travelling first to Saumur, then to Bordeaux, where they met du Verdus.²⁵ They then journeyed to Montpellier, Lyon, Geneva, Turin, Milan, Bologna, Pisa, Florence, and Rome.²⁶ Having wintered in Rome, they were back in Paris by July 1665 and crossed to England shortly thereafter, landing at Dover on 3 [/13] August.²⁷ Du Prat remained in the service of Sandwich's family at Hinchinbrooke for two more years. On 17 [/27] June 1667 Pepys recorded: 'This night late comes a porter with a letter from Monsieur Pratt to borrow 100 / for my Lord of Hinchinbrooke, [...] but I did find an excuse to decline it,'²⁸ The entire Sandwich household was short of money during the Earl's absence on his embassy to Spain (1666–8), and the Countess decided to dispense with du Prat's services.²⁹ She suggested a job as tutor to the Earl of Aylesbury's son, and du Prat negotiated with the Earls of Aylesbury and Devonshire to teach their children together—a plan which the Countess of Aylesbury eventually turned down.³⁰

Du Prat finally rejoined the service of the Earl of Devonshire in September 1667: he was to receive wages of £25 for the half-year ending on 1 [/11] March 1668.³¹ An account book entry for 4 [/14] February 1668 records: 'To m^r Dupratt on his bill of Trauelling Charges when he went first into Darbyshire: £3 15s 2d'.³² He remained in the Cavendish household, and thus in constant contact with Hobbes, until mid-summer 1671.³³ The personal account book of James Wheldon, Hobbes's amanuensis, also records one shilling 'Given me by M^r du Prat' in January–February 1669.³⁴ The identification of this du Prat with François (and not his brother, whom he had once proposed for the job)³⁵ is rendered certain by a note in François du Prat's commonplace-

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book, recording that he observed an eclipse of the sun in Derbyshire on 25 October/4 November 1668.³⁶

Almost nothing is known of du Prat's life after 1671. A fragment of a letter to him survives: it is about the Earl of Sandwich's horses and is dated [23 October/] 2 November 1679.³⁷ This suggests that his former pupil, having become second Earl of Sandwich in 1672, took him back into his service. To his Moroccan notebook du Prat added some extracts from de la Croix's *Relation universelle de l'Afrique*, which was published in 1688.³⁸ Another notebook, inscribed 'Misc. Observations of Mr du Prat', mentions the death of Pope Alexander VIII in 1691; references in this manuscript to the Earls of Devonshire and Sandwich suggest a connection with François du Prat,³⁹ but the handwriting is unlike that of François himself, and may therefore be that of a son or a brother. One would naturally expect du Prat to have settled permanently in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685; and on 5 [/15] March 1691 'Francis Dupratt' received letters of denization from the King.⁴⁰ But no further trace of him can be found.

JOSIAH PULLEN (C. 1633-1714/15)

Pullen came from a humble background: his status was recorded as 'pleb.' when he matriculated at Magdalen Hall in November 1650 and proceeded BA in May 1654.¹ He became a Fellow of the Hall, and proceeded MA in April 1657; later that year he was appointed Vice-Principal by Henry Wilkinson, the Puritan who had been installed as Principal by the parliamentary Visitors in 1648.² Pullen was to remain Vice-Principal of the Hall for fifty-seven years. One of his duties in that office was the supervision of the library register, which Wilkinson had begun in 1656;³ hence, perhaps, his special responsibility for thanking Hobbes for his donation to the library (Letter 194).

Although appointed by Henry Wilkinson, Pullen was not a Puritan,

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nor was he regarded as Wilkinson's creature. When the Earl of Clarendon visited Oxford as Chancellor of the university in 1661 he delivered a public rebuke to Wilkinson: turning down his invitation to a banquet in Magdalen Hall, he 'chid him and told him that "he entertained a company of factious people in his house, [...] and but one honest man among them," meaning Mr Josias Pullaine'.⁴ Pullen was ordained an Anglican priest; he was a close friend of the moderate Anglican divine Robert Sanderson, who, when he became Bishop of Lincoln after the Restoration, appointed Pullen his domestic chaplain. Pullen attended Sanderson during his illness and death in January/February 1663.⁵ In 1675 he became pastor of St Peter's in the East, Oxford; nine years later he also became rector of Blunsdon St Andrew, Wiltshire.⁶ Unusually for a cleric and senior academic of this period, he published nothing, not even a sermon; he is known, however, to have had some antiquarian interests.⁷ After the

death of Dr Hyde in 1694, the next Principal, Dr Richard Adams, seldom resided at the Hall, and Pullen was acting Principal in all but name.⁸ After Pullen's death on 31 December 1714/10 January 1715 (apparently as a result of over-exerting himself administering communion at St Peter's in the East on the previous day), Thomas Hearne recorded: 'He lived to a very great Age, being abt fourscore & three, always very healthy & vigorous. He was regular in his way of living, but too close, considering he was a single Man & was wealthy. He seldom used Spectacles, which made him guilty of great Blunders at Divine service.'⁹

JOHN SCUDAMORE, FIRST VISCOUNT SCUDAMORE (1601-1671)

Scudamore was born into a prominent family of Herefordshire gentry, his father being an MP for the county, a gentleman usher to Queen Elizabeth, and a famous military commander, John Scudamore matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in November 1616; he is believed

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to have studied at the Middle Temple in the following year.¹ In September 1618 he received a licence to travel for three years,² and some of his time abroad was probably spent perfecting his knowledge of French; but he was back in England by June 1620, when he was created a baronet. Sir John came into his inheritance at an early age, his father dying in 1619 and his grandfather in 1623. In 1620 and 1624 he was MP for Herefordshire, and in 1625 and 1628 he sat for the city of Hereford. Scudamore had close connections at Court with the Duke of Buckingham, whom he accompanied on his expedition to the Isle of Rhé in 1627; he was also particularly close to Bishop Laud, who corresponded with him during the 1620s and frequently stayed at his house in Herefordshire.³ His devotion to the study of history and theology once earned a memorable warning from the bishop: 'Book it not too much'.⁴ Under Laud's influence, he spent large sums of money repairing and furnishing churches on his estates, and restoring tithes to parishes.⁵

In 1628 he was created Baron Dromore and Viscount Scudamore of Sligo, and at the end of 1634 he was appointed Ambassador to France. He travelled to Paris in June 1635, and was to stay there until February 1639; his diligence is reflected in the two surviving series of detailed news-letters which he sent to London, from August/September 1635 to February 1639.⁶ No doubt it was at some time between June 1635 and October 1636 that he made the acquaintance of Hobbes. In 1636 Scudamore was joined by Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, whose seniority in rank entitled him to occupy the embassy house, while Scudamore had to rent a private mansion.⁷ Leicester had been sent partly in order to

restore relations with the French Protestant Church, which Scudamore, following his Laudian principles, had refused to attend. Scudamore was interested in schemes promoted by Protestant eirenicists such as Grotius for a union of the non-Presbyterian Protestant Churches of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England, Grotius was also an ambassador in Paris (for Sweden) during this period, and in frequent contact with him: on 2 [12] October 1637 he wrote to Laud of a recent conversation with Grotius, saying that 'body and soul he

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professeth himself to be for the Church of England'.⁸ When John Milton arrived in Paris in April or May 1638 he quickly obtained an introduction to the Dutch philosopher from Scudamore.⁹

After his return to England, Lord Scudamore seems to have played little part in public affairs until the Civil War. He joined the royalist army in the West Country in April 1643, but was soon captured; his estates were sequestrated and he was imprisoned for three years. Altogether it was calculated that he lost £37,690, first through the donations he had made to the royal cause, and then through the destruction and confiscation of his possessions. After his release, however, he devoted his energies to supporting ejected Anglican clergymen: those who received his help included John Bramhall, Thomas Fuller, Peter Gunning, and Matthew Wren. He died a broken and comparatively impoverished man in 1671.

THOMAS SHIPMAN (1632-1680)

The son of a fervently royalist member of the Nottinghamshire gentry, Shipman was born at Scarrington, near Newark, and educated at Sleaford school and at St John's College, Cambridge, where he entered as a 'pensioner' in 1651.¹ Little is known of his personal life thereafter. He married Margaret, daughter of John Trafford, of Dunton, Lincolnshire;² he seems to have been financially independent, but to have attached himself to some more prominent local families, especially the Chaworths. Loyal to the county of his birth, he was a 'captain of trained bands' for Nottinghamshire;³ he was also a friend of the physician and local antiquary Robert Thoroton, who inserted a Shipman family tree (supplied by Thomas) in his history of the county.⁴ In the preface to the posthumous collection of Shipman's poems, his close friend Thomas Flatman wrote that he was 'a Man every way accomplish'd: To the advantages of his Birth, his Education had added whatsoever was necessary to fit him for Conversation, and render him (as he was) desirable by the best Wits of the Age. In the Calamities of the last rebellion he was no small Sharer.'⁵

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The poems in this collection date from 1651 to 1679,⁶ and their dedications thus provide a rough list of Shipman's friends and patrons throughout his adult life. There are two poems addressed to Cleveland, and one (dated 1667) to Cowley. Many are addressed to members of the Nottinghamshire gentry and nobility, notably Sir Gervase Clifton, his son Sir Clifford Clifton, and several members of the family of Patrick, third Viscount Chaworth. A series of poems to Chaworth's daughter, from 1675 to 1679, with titles such as 'The Rent' and 'Arrears', suggests that Shipman was a tenant of the Chaworths during that period. In 'Arrears 1679' he wrote:

To you I have such *Rents* to pay [...]
Wire-drawing-Wit in Rhyme's ray *Trade*;
And I no store of *Bullion* have for aid [...]
A smutty Fancy, or *bald Jest*,
Profaneness in *Hobb's* Livery drest,
Serve for a *Session's charge*, or *Churching-Feast*.⁷

Shipman also wrote two tragedies,⁸ one of which, *Henry the Third of France, Stabb'd by a Fryer. With the Fall of the Guise*, was performed at the Theatre Royal in 1678 and printed that year with a dedicatory epistle to the Nottinghamshire nobleman and patron of Hobbes Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester.⁹

RENÉ-FRANÇOIS DE SLUSE (1622-1685)

De Sluse was born at Visé (near Liège), where his father was a notary. The de Sluses were a prominent *bourgeois* family in the principality of Liège, and René-François's mother, Cathérine Walthéri, had relations who held important administrative offices both in the local Church and at the Roman Curia.¹ The boy was destined from an early age for the Church; he studied first under an uncle (a canon of Visé), then at Louvain University, where he studied civil and canon law. In 1642 he passed from there to Rome, where he proceeded Doctor of Law in October 1643. For the next eight years he lived in Italy, mainly at Rome,

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Florence, or Perugia, studying mathematics, the sciences, history, law, and languages, and developing friendships with Italian mathematicians such as Michelangelo Ricci. His expertise as a linguist was put to use when the Pope employed him as translator of letters from the bishops of Armenia;² but he spurned a career in the Curia, to the disappointment of his influential Walthéri relatives.³ He was provided with two benefices at or near Visé: these were sinecures which did not require residence.

In 1650, however, the Pope granted de Sluse a vacant canonry at the cathedral church of Saint Lambert in Liège. He moved to that city in 1651 and took up his duties in 1653. Thereafter he rose steadily through the hierarchy of the cathedral chapter (to become vice-provost in 1676), his time increasingly absorbed by administrative, legal, and financial affairs. He also became both a privy councillor to Prince-Bishop Maximilien-Henri, the Elector of Cologne (in 1659), and a *conseiller* on the court of appeal to the highest civil court in Liège (in 1666).⁴ During his early years as a canon in Liège he had felt frustrated by the lack of contact with the wider intellectual world; but as time went by, and his extensive network of correspondence grew, the frustration was that his many official duties gave him too little time to spend on corresponding with the many scientists of his acquaintance, and exploring all the topics of research which they discussed.⁵

Contacts were often initiated by visitors coming to Liège: in June 1657 Constantijn Huygens visited de Sluse there, and put him in touch with his scientist son, Christiaan.⁶ This led to a long correspondence between the two scientists, mainly on mathematical and astronomical questions. Later in 1657 de Sluse also began writing to Pascal, with whom he had probably been put in touch by his Italian friend, the traveller and amateur mathematician Cosimo Brunetti. In 1659 de Sluse's name became known to the learned world when he published his *Mesolabum*, a treatise discussing methods of solving algebraic equations of the third or fourth degree. Samuel Sorbière's acquaintance with de Sluse, which produced a voluminous correspondence, also began with a visit to Liège, during Sorbière's trip to The Nether-

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lands immediately after his stay in England in 1663.⁷ It is possible that Sorbière visited de Sluse on the recommendation of either Balthazar de Monconys or Christiaan Huygens, both of whom had been with Sorbière in London that summer.

On his visit to de Sluse, Sorbière showed him a copy of the duplication of the cube which Hobbes was planning to have printed in his *Opera philosophica*; Sorbière hoped to arouse a mathematical 'skirmish' between the two men, which he would then send to de Carcavi or Fermat for a final adjudication, and publish with some further editorial material of his own.⁸ He persisted in this ambition even after de Sluse had assured him that the matter did not deserve the scrutiny of either of those mathematicians;⁹ he was still hoping to involve Fermat as an adjudicator up until the latter's death in January 1665.¹⁰ De Sluse's own dismay at the blunders committed by Hobbes can be seen in his answer¹¹ to the reply Hobbes had sent to his first set of comments. In the letter to Sorbière which accompanied that answer, he expressed himself more bluntly: 'I cannot describe my feelings on reading the letter written by the most distinguished Mr Hobbes [...]. I was sufficiently aware that this man was not very good at mathematics, even though he is extremely learned in other

matters; but I would never have persuaded myself that he was so ignorant of geometry.¹² Even Sorbière must have been a little unsettled by de Sluse's letter, since although he promised de Sluse that he would send it off to Hobbes on [3/] 13 February,¹³ it stayed on his desk until [20/] 30 April. Hobbes made no further reply to de Sluse, but on [27 September/] 7 October Sorbière referred to the dispute again in a letter to de Sluse and added that 'I am awaiting a recently published little work by Hobbes on this subject.'¹⁴ De Sluse replied somewhat wearily: 'I have not seen the little work by the most distinguished Mr Hobbes, and I should be sorry if he were to

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provoke me to write another reply.'¹⁵ He also wrote to Huygens to ask whether he had seen such a work;¹⁶ but further enquiries by the Dutch scientist uncovered no traces of it.¹⁷ The exchange of letters via Sorbière remained, so far as is known, the only contact between Hobbes and de Sluse.

As this episode showed, de Sluse was a competent mathematician. In 1668 he added to his published work with a second edition of *Mesolabum*, containing ten new chapters, mainly on complex curves such as spirals and conchoids. Perhaps he had been stimulated to produce this edition by the first letter he received from Henry Oldenburg (dated 6 [16] February 1667), which said: 'Your *Mesolabum* is well known here, but copies of it are greatly sought for.'¹⁸ A regular correspondence between the two men developed, and one fruit of this was the publication of a long letter on tangents in the *Philosophical Transactions* in January 1673;¹⁹ a shorter letter, on a construction known as 'Alhazen's problem', was also published later in the same year.²⁰ On 16 [26] April 1674 de Sluse was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, having been proposed by Oldenburg; but his name was dropped from the printed lists of members after 1677.²¹ His scientific interests were certainly as wide as those of any of the Fellows: his research ranged from mathematics to astronomy, chronometry, chemistry, medicine, embryology, the development of the thermometer and the barometer, and the transfusion of blood.²² His literary work also included a defence of the Latin language, written at Sorbière's request (in reply to a 'discours' by le Laboureur to the de Montmor 'academy' on the advantages of French), and published in a little volume edited by Sorbière.²³

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SAMUEL SORBIÈRE (1615–1670)

Sorbière was born at Saint-Ambroix in Languedoc on [7/] 17 November 1615,¹ the nephew of the well-known Protestant theologian Samuel Petit. Orphaned at an early age, he was taught by his uncle at Nîmes, and was sufficiently instructed in theology by July 1638 for Petit to suggest that he become a minister in the Vivarais region; but he preferred to go to Paris and perfect his studies there instead.²

In Paris Sorbière got to know Mersenne, Guy Patin, the Dupuy brothers, Denis Petau, and other learned men, and became interested in the works of Galileo, Kepler, and Descartes.³ He was particularly interested in mechanistic physical theories, and corresponded in 1639 with Claude Guiraud and William Boswell on the related topics of atomism, the propagation of light, and the existence of vacuums.⁴ He also corresponded on terms of warm friendship with Alexandre Morus at Geneva, who guided him away from orthodox Calvinism towards the more liberal doctrines of the Saumur school.⁵ This in turn led, as Sorbière later recalled, to a study of Arminian and Socinian authors.⁶ He even translated into French the *Vindiciae pro religionis libertate* of the Socinian J. Crellius; and in 1640–1 he was reprovved for his theological leanings both by Pierre du Prat (brother of Abraham and father of François) and by Samuel Petit, with whom he broke off relations in 1640 for many months.⁷ By 1641 he had decided to pursue a medical career; he had made Gassendi's acquaintance, through Mersenne, and took part in the former's anatomical investigations together with Thomas de Martel.⁸ Also in 1641 Sorbière became a convinced Socinian, and at the end of that year, with his friend Abraham du Prat, started a correspondence with the famous Socinian theologian Martinus Ruarus in Danzig.⁹ In 1642, through the Parisian Socinian Edmond Mercier, he was also introduced to Grotius.¹⁰ At some time between November 1641 and April 1642 Sorbière was shown the

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manuscript of *De cive* by Mersenne, in the presence of Abraham du Prat and du Prat's friend Diserot. As he later told de Martel, 'the little which I read quickly for a quarter of an hour made an extraordinary impression on me'; he was not told the name of the author, and guessed that it might be Descartes.¹¹

At the end of 1641 Sorbière was denounced for his dangerous theological views by Pierre du Prat to the elders of the Protestant church at Charenton; it seems likely that du Prat's real worry was that his brother, Abraham, was being led astray. Although Sorbière managed to placate the Charenton consistory, the harm this episode did to his reputation deprived him of any chance of earning a living as a tutor in a Protestant, household in Paris, and in

late April 1642 he left France for Holland.¹² Here he was welcomed by his cousin Étienne de Courcelles, Professor at the Remonstrant College in Amsterdam, and was visited for a while by de Martel later in the summer. It was de Martel who, back in Paris in the first half of 1643, sent Sorbière a copy of the first edition of *De cive*. In a letter to de Martel of [29 May/] 8 June Sorbière declared that although the author was evidently a person of great ability and judgement, there was something about the way in which it was written which he found difficult and off-putting.¹³ Sorbière's main interests at this time were still in the physical sciences: he had observed sunspots through a telescope in late 1642, and in July 1643 he passed on observations on the satellites of Jupiter, which he had received from Gassendi, to Samson Johnson at The Hague.¹⁴ Later, even when he had changed his mind about the philosophical style of *De cive* and was enthusiastically supervising the printing of the second and third editions in 1647, he made it clear to his friends that his main reason for undertaking that task was to encourage Hobbes to send him the earlier parts of his philosophical 'elements' as well.¹⁵

During his first years in Holland Sorbière supported himself partly by working as a tutor for the Rijngraf van Salm, who was governor of Sluis from 1642 to 1644.¹⁶ and partly by occasional work for the Amsterdam printer Blaeu.¹⁷ A French translation of More's *Utopia* by Sorbière, completed by November 1642, was published in 1643. By 1644

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Sorbière was evidently planning to pursue a medical career in Holland: he wrote to André Rivet that he was devoting all his time to medical studies and to learning Dutch.¹⁸ In 1645, after the death of his uncle Samuel Petit, Sorbière revisited France: the main reason for the trip was to act as executor for his uncle's estate, especially his valuable library, but he also combined this task with employment as a tutor to a young Dutchman, a M. Quirinssen, whose behaviour was so ungovernable that they parted company in Lyon.¹⁹ But at some point on this trip Sorbière did revisit Paris, where he renewed his acquaintance with Guy Patin.²⁰ It was then that he was introduced for the first time, by de Martel, to Hobbes; and on his return to Holland he was entrusted with the copy of the first edition of *De cive* in which Hobbes had written additional notes in the margin.²¹ On [14/] 24 June 1646 he married Judith, daughter of Daniel Renaud, a French Protestant (also from Saint-Ambroix) living in The Hague.²² Also in 1646 he enrolled as a student of medicine at Leiden University;²³ having studied there for two years, he returned to The Hague to practise as a physician. During his stay at Leiden he had organized the printing of the two 1647 editions of *De cive*; and in 1649 he published his own translation of that work into French.²⁴ Also in that year he edited a theological work by his late uncle;²⁵ this no doubt helped to secure him the post of rector of the Protestant academy at Orange, to which he moved in 1650.

Sorbière spent three full years at Orange, supplementing his income by medical practice.²⁶ Early in 1653 he published a French translation of the fiercely royalist history of the English Civil War by George Bate, *Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia*.²⁷ Whether the work had been recommended to him by Hobbes is not known; Sorbière's interest in it

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probably reflects the revulsion common among Huguenot scholars and theologians (such as Saumaise) at what had been done and defended by their fellow Presbyterians in England. But before the end of the year Sorbière had ceased to be a Protestant, He resigned his rectorship in October,²⁸ and travelled to Paris in March 1654. There he published (as convention dictated) a *Discours [...] sur sa conversion à l'église catholique*, dedicated to Mazarin. In it he explained that since his arrival in Orange he had been befriended by Joseph Marie de Suarez, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Vaison, and that it was Suarez who had effected his conversion.²⁹ (In recognition of this, he added 'Joseph' to his own Christian name.) Guy Patin, who met Sorbière in Paris in February 1654, had a more cynical explanation: he noted that Sorbière had come to Paris to look for pensions from the Catholic clergy, and described his conversion as 'one of the miracles of our age which are rather more political and economic than metaphysical'.³⁰ Sorbière was given a pension of 400 livres, and then set off for Rome in 1655, in search of further spiritual and material rewards: Alexander VII eventually granted him two small benefices in France.³¹ Back in Paris later in 1655 he attended Gassendi during his final illness in de Montmor's house, and he devoted much of his energy over the next three years to organizing the publication of the six-volume *Opera omnia* of Gassendi, to which he contributed a prefatory life of the author.

The circle of friends of Sorbière and admirers of Gassendi (and of Hobbes) which included Abraham du Prat, Thomas de Martel, Charles du Bosc, and François de La Mothe le Vayer formed the nucleus of the 'academy' which met at de Montmor's house after Gassendi's death and acquired the formal rules set out in Letter 133 in 1658. They were joined by some of the mathematicians and astronomers (such as Boulliau) who had taken part in the post-Mersenne mathematical gatherings at the house of Jacques Le Pailleur; but the de Montmor gathering was more interested in physics, scientific method, and, especially, medicine. Sorbière himself described it as an 'assembly of physicians', and recorded that Pecquet had performed a dissection there to demonstrate the existence of the chyle ducts.³² Several of the 'discours' which Sorbière delivered to the de Montmor group in 1659,

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on such subjects as the nature of truth and the shivering experienced in intermittent fevers, were published in his *Lettres et discours* in 1660.³³ This work, like its companion volume, *Relations, lettres et discours* (also 1660), was a collection of literary exercises and

letters to prominent people; the latter work also included a long and valuable account of contemporary science in Holland.³⁴

In 1660, thanks to his studious self-publicizing and his careful cultivation of Mazarin, Sorbière was appointed 'Historiographe royal'. He had a pension of 800 livres from the clergy, a benefice worth 500 livres from Mazarin, and a pension of 1,000 livres from the King.³⁵ Although his position was a little weakened by the death of Mazarin in 1661, the early 1660s show Sorbière at the peak of his success. In June 1663 he travelled to London, where he visited first Hobbes, then the Royal Society. He already knew Henry Oldenburg from the latter's visits to the de Montmor 'academy' in 1659, and on 22 June [/2 July] 1663 he was created a Fellow of the Royal Society. He visited Oxford, where he met John Wallis and was struck by his ridiculous appearance ('with his flat hat on his head, as if he had put his wallet there'),³⁶ and he had an audience with Charles II, who showed him the Samuel Cooper miniature of Hobbes in his study.³⁷ After a stay of three months he returned to France with François du Prat in mid-September. He then travelled on to Amsterdam, partly in order to negotiate with Blaeu over the publication of a Latin edition of Hobbes's collected works.

Back in Paris in November, Sorbière wrote the *Relation* describing his English journey, of which the dedicatory epistle, to Louis XIV, is dated [2/] 12 December. The publication of this work, in May 1664,³⁸ had disastrous consequences. The Danish minister at the French Court, the abbé de Saulmeyer, took exception to the book's comments on the treatment by the Danish Crown of one of Sorbière's old benefactors, Cornifidz Ullefeldt, who had been banished from Denmark on suspicion of treason. (Sorbière had known Ullefeldt when he was Danish Ambassador in Holland, and had dedicated his translation of *De cive* to him.) De Saulmeyer wrote to Sorbière, asking him to issue a retraction of those comments; Sorbière replied at the beginning of July that he would consult with his friends about the matter, adding that 500

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copies of the book had been printed and that most of them had gone out to bookshops already.³⁹ Meanwhile a friend of de Saulmeyer's showed a copy of the book to the marquis de Lionne, Louis XIV's minister for foreign affairs, who was struck by its injurious remarks about Edward Hyde, the Lord Chancellor of England, and about the English national character.⁴⁰ By a decree of the Conseil d'État of [29 June/] 9 July, all copies of this 'bold and foolish satire' were confiscated, and its further publication was prohibited.⁴¹ Sorbière was banished to Nantes, in lower Brittany. Gaston de Commenge, the French Ambassador in London, reported that this action, and the publication of the decree (which he had shown to Hyde), had caused great satisfaction in England.⁴² Eventually it was Charles II himself

(prompted, apparently, by de Grammont) who sought Sorbière's pardon from the French King in September/October 1664.⁴³

In Paris again, Sorbière picked up the pieces of his career, publishing a *Discours sur la comète*, dedicated to the Bishop of Constance, in 1665. The long critique of Cartesian physics in this work shows that he had not abandoned his scientific interests. In 1667 his luck seemed to have turned when an old friend, Cardinal Rospigliosi, became Pope Clement IX. Sorbière hastened to Rome, where he received a friendly welcome from the new Pope but no material gains apart from a small contribution to his travelling expenses.⁴⁴ On his return to Paris, however, he set his 17-year-old son to work transcribing letters from his collection of correspondence with famous men—above all, letters he had received from Rospigliosi. A selection was published (in a very small edition) in 1669 as *Illustrium et eruditorum virorum epistolae*: Sorbière claimed that his son had done this to satisfy the curiosity of others, but there was little doubt about the real motive of the exercise.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, modern scholars must be grateful both to Sorbière's vanity and to the patience and industry of his son, which produced the huge volume of transcribed correspondence from which most of the surviving letters between Sorbière and Hobbes are derived.

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Sorbière died in Paris in 1670; rumour had it that he hastened his own release from a painful illness by taking an overdose of laudanum.⁴⁶ Two years later his son performed another act of piety by publishing a set of essays by Sorbière on the practice of medicine;⁴⁷ but two other manuscripts, a treatise 'De pace et concordia inter Christianos concilianda' and a translation of *De causis mortis Christi* by the Socinian writer Crellius, remained unpublished and are now lost.⁴⁸

HENRY STUBBE (1632-1676)

Stubbe was born in Lincolnshire, the son of a Puritan (and, later, Presbyterian) minister. In 1641 his mother brought him to London, where she is said to have supported him 'by her needle'.¹ She entered him at Westminster School, where he was brought to the notice of the radical politician Henry Vane the younger, who became his patron and sent him to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1649. There he won a reputation for brilliance in Latin and Greek (he discoursed fluently in both languages); in 1651 he published two paraphrases of biblical stories in Greek verse, and a set of Greek translations of epigrams by English poets.² He also gained a reputation for impertinence, for which he was 'whipt [...] in the public refectory' by the censor.³ In 1650, as a protégé of Sir Henry Vane, he was given the task of bringing the engagement oath to Oxford; Wood quotes him as saying that he did not

take the oath himself because he was only an undergraduate, and that 'I saved the remains of the cavaliers of Ch. Ch. and Queen's coll. and gave them opportunities to live securely.'⁴

Stubbe proceeded BA in July 1653 and then spent two years with the parliamentary army in Scotland. He returned to Oxford in 1655 or 1656,⁵ and proceeded MA in December 1656. At some time during 1655 or early 1656 he had made Hobbes's acquaintance. The original point of contact between them is not known; but Stubbe's reference to John Davies,⁶ and his remark that he (Stubbe) was obliged to Hobbes for 'y^t

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esteeme, I had found at London',⁷ suggest that they had met in the free-thinking, anticlerical circles in London to which John Davies belonged.

As a supporter of the Independents, and perhaps through his Westminster School connections as well, Stubbe had come under the patronage of Dr John Owen, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the university. His role as confidant to Dr Owen and assistant to his polemical writing against the Presbyterians can be studied through his letters to Hobbes. In 1657 this patronage bore fruit when he was appointed Deputy Keeper of the Bodleian Library, under Thomas Barlow. That year also saw the publication of Hobbes's *Markes*, which included Stubbe's criticism of John Wallis's competence in Latin and Greek. Stubbe's remarks, though printed anonymously, were quickly attributed to his pen; and later that year the Presbyterian writer Daniel Cawdrey, in a polemical work directed against John Owen, accused Stubbe of Hobbism.⁸ Stubbe was disingenuous to the point of cowardice in self-defence. In his own further reply to Wallis later in 1657 he wrote, of Hobbes:

Though I have an entire respect for his *person*, a great esteem of his *learning*, and honourable resentments for his *civility* at that *one* visit I gave him [...] yet I durst not adventure a *line* to him by way of censuring his *Antagonist*, lest it might *distaste* those, who would not stick to *entitle* me to all his *Heterodoxyes*, (to which I am so great a *stranger*, that I know no more of them than *common talk* hath *acquainted* me with, having never had *leisure* to *examine* his books,).⁹

And in a private letter to Cawdrey on 17 [/27] March 1658 he insisted that 'Had he [sc. Wallis] written ag^t m^r Hobs so as had befitted y^e vniversity & his quality, I should haue rejoyced in y^e confutation of M^r Hobs's opinions.'¹⁰

By 1659, however, Stubbe was evidently more prepared to stick his neck out: he published two strongly pro-republican and anti-Presbyterian works, *A Letter to an Officer in the Army* and *An Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause*. In the latter work he revealed his

admiration for, and personal acquaintance with, James Harrington.¹¹ In the same year he also published a polemical defence of the Quakers, *A Light Shining out of Darkness*, which was apparently written in collaboration with his old patron, Sir Henry Vane.¹² In this work he abandoned

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his support for John Owen and the Independents, attacking 'the *Doctours* that are got amongst them' for 'Their stickling for the upholding of the present *formalized University*, and a *Tythe-receiving Ministry*.'¹³ The abuse against the university in this volume gave the new Dean of Christ Church in 1660, Edward Reynolds, the excuse he needed to eject Stubbe from the college.

Having left Oxford, Stubbe began to practise as a physician in Stratford-upon-Avon; he was now under the patronage of George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, and in September 1661 he subscribed to the articles of the Church of England.¹⁴ It has been suggested that it was through Morley's influence at Court that Stubbe obtained a royal appointment as a physician in Jamaica, where he lived from 1662 to 1665.¹⁵ In 1662 he published a treatise on hot chocolate, *The Indian Nectar; or, A Discourse concerning Chocolata*, in which J. R. Jacob has detected an anti-Presbyterian purpose.¹⁶ On his return to England Stubbe resumed his medical practice in Warwickshire, and published a semi-naturalistic account of the miracle cures performed by the healer Valentine Greatrix or Greatrakes.¹⁷ In 1670 Stubbe became embroiled in a public dispute with the Royal Society when he published two attacks on Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, especially criticizing those passages which advocated a form of non-dogmatic 'rational religion'.¹⁸ Two further attacks on the Society (and on its other chief publicist, Joseph Glanvill) followed.¹⁹ He also extended his hostility to Bacon, whose medical opinions he criticized in his *Discourse concerning the Sweating-Sickness*.²⁰ But Stubbe's most important work of this period was his study of Islam in relation to early Christianity, *An Account of Mohametanism*, which was written probably between 1671 and 1673.²¹ It circulated in several manuscript copies, and was plagiarized by Charles Blount in his letter to Hobbes of 1678.²² In 1673 Stubbe was arrested and imprisoned for a pamphlet attacking the marriage of the Duke of York to Mary of Modena. He died by drowning on 12 [22] September

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1676 and was buried at Bath, A manuscript catalogue of his library survives; in a list of roughly 1,700 books it includes a number of anti-Hobbesian titles by Boyle, Cumberland, Eachard, Tenison, and Ward, but not a single work by Hobbes.²³ So it seems that in his efforts to achieve respectability in post-Restoration England, Stubbe had removed from his

shelves all traces of his old connection with the author of *Leviathan*. Hobbes's opinion of Stubbe in this final period was recorded by Aubrey: 'Mr. Henry Stubbes, physitian, whom he much esteemed for his great learning and parts, but at latter end Mr. Hobbs differ'd with him for that he wrote against the lord chancellor Bacon, and the Royall Societie.'²⁴

PHILIP TANNY OR TANDY (B. C.1612-15; D. AFTER 1682)

Tanny proceeded BA at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, in November 1632.¹ He appears to have been living in Ireland in 1641, and to have been active as a lay preacher up until c.1646. In 1655 he was to write, in his only published work, that 'It is now almost nine years, since I appeared in a Pulpit.'² When he applied for a junior administrative post in London in December 1649 (Registrar-Accountant to the Accounts Committee), John Rushworth described him as 'knowne to mee for a godly honest man', and Colonel John Lambert wrote: 'This bearer hath bin long knowne to mee, hee hath suffered much in Ireland, by the insurrection, in England for his Conscience.'³

In the early 1650s Tanny was promoted to positions of considerable trust. In 1652 he became 'Auditor of debts' to the 'Commissioners for removing obstructions in the sale of delinquents' land and estates'.⁴ By an Act of Parliament of 18/28 November 1652 he, Edward Greene, and another man were appointed 'Register Accomptants' for the sale of estates forfeited for treason;⁵ and in another Act, dated 7/17 October 1653 and entitled *Act for Accompts, and Clearing of Publique Debts: and for discovering Frauds or Concealments of any thing due to the Commonwealth*, he

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and six others were appointed commissioners for investigating 'Claims and Discoveries'.⁶

In early 1655 a large conspiracy was discovered among various public officers to counterfeit bills, warrants, and debentures. People were implicated at the Prize Office, the Admiralty Commissioners, and Drury House (the office of the registrars for the sale of forfeited estates). Those seized and imprisoned in Newgate Jail included Jonathan Fugill and Abraham Granger: on 10 [/20] January the latter submitted a long list of other culprits, in which he claimed that one of the registrars at Drury House, Edward Greene, had amassed £20,000 or £30,000, and added: 'There is also M.^r Tandy, the Examiner at those Offices growne to a vast Estate, whome Fugall and others can accuse if they please, and were in pursuite thereof, but lett it fall againe, vpon what termes I know not.'⁷

That Tanny had amassed a fortune seems hardly likely; a document of 8 [/18] May shows that he and Sir George Rawdon had taken a six months' loan of £100 from Sir John Clotworthy, on a bond of £200.⁸ Nor are there any further records to suggest that he was imprisoned or interrogated. On 13 [/23] March 1655 the Trustees for the sale of lands and estates forfeited for treason petitioned for a new registrar to replace Tanny, on the grounds that 'the said Philip Tandy for diuers Monthes past, hath beene, and still continues distracted, and so vncapable to discharge the dutie of his place'.⁹ The version of this text printed in *CSPD* gives 'distrusted';¹⁰ but the original manuscript clearly says 'distracted'. Tanny was probably both: his career as a civil servant ended in April 1655, and the full title of the work he published in May that year indicates another set-back: *Christ Knocking at the Doore; or, The Substance of a Sermon Intended to be Preached in Pauls upon the Sabbath Day which fell upon the Fifteenth Day of April last; but not preached by reason of a suddain Obstruction of that Liberty which was promised him, being indeed unworthy to be the Servant of Jesus Christ in any such Ministration for ever.*

In his dedicatory epistle (to Cromwell) he explained that he had been appointed to preach at St Paul's 'in *D^r Burgess* his substitutes room; but he being surprised on a sudden, with some strange relations touching me [...] I was [...] denied the liberty which was very civilly promised me'.¹¹ From that day, he continued, he was 'hopelesse for a long time

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together (though I must confesse at the beginning of my despair, I received the greatest support by your Highnesse speaking to me, that ever I had from any man living,)'.¹² The nature of the 'strange relations' against him is not stated; but later in the epistle he writes that he wants the world to see 'that I am no sower of sedition'.¹³ In the text of the sermon itself he remarks that 'I trust Jesus Christ [...] will vindicate me from the charge of being guilty of other mens transgressions'.¹⁴

After devoting much effort during the next two or three years to petitioning for arrears of his salary, Tanny was finally paid off with a lump sum in 1658.¹⁵ He then travelled to Ireland, where he was appointed to a Presbyterian lectureship at Lisburn in September.¹⁶ There he was regarded at first as 'a rare preacher', but in the following year he became embroiled in a public feud with Jeremy Taylor, whom he denounced for using the sign of the Cross at a christening: Taylor described him as 'a Presbyterian and a madman'.¹⁷ After the Restoration he seems to have stayed on at Lisburn as a dependant of Lord Conway; in 1665 Lady Conway asked him to bring the miracle-healer Valentine Greatorex or Greatrakes to England to treat her migraines.¹⁸ An inventory of Lisburn House in 1682 includes a list of furnishings in 'Mr. Tandy's Roome': that is the last trace of his existence.¹⁹

FRANÇOIS DU VERDUS (1621-1675)

François Bonneau or de Bonneau, sieur du Verdus, came from an old landed family of the Bordeaux region, originally from the Saint-Émilionnais.¹ In the mid-sixteenth century the estates were divided between two branches of the family: the 'grand Verdus' and the 'petit Verdus'. François du Verdus's branch was the 'petit', with estates centred on the village of Ambarès.² A Jean Bonneau, probably

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François's great-grandfather, was a *jurat* (governing magistrate) of Bordeaux three times, in 1548, 1559, and 1563,³ and the family was ennobled in 1594.⁴ It was probably François's grandfather that was the *conseiller* du Verdus who had a famous quarrel in 1602 with the autocratic Henri de Sourdis, recently installed as Archbishop of Bordeaux. Sent to investigate a dispute over jurisdiction between de Sourdis and the chapter of Saint-André, he rashly answered back when spoken to sharply by de Sourdis, and was excommunicated.⁵ He died a few years later, apparently reconciled to the Church, and in November 1606 François du Verdus's father, Jean, inherited the office of *conseiller* of the Parlement of Bordeaux from his late father.⁶

François du Verdus was born on [15/] 25 April 1621.⁷ His father died a few months later, and on [11/] 21 August Jean du Verdus's office of *conseiller* was passed, in François's name, to a Jean Dubernet.⁸ On [28 April/] 8 May 1625 François's mother signed a marriage contract with the sieur de Tirac, but a little over two years later she died.⁹ By then François had already been put in the care of Lancelot de Calmeil, the stepson of François's paternal grandmother.¹⁰ The details of du Verdus's education are obscure; in 1636 he was attending an 'académie', where such things as riding and fencing were taught.¹¹ He also studied philosophy and law under the Jesuits—probably at the Jesuit College in Bordeaux, the only place of higher education in the city that was not in an inactive or moribund condition.¹² In April 1641 du Verdus went to live in Paris, 'to complete his education in manners and letters'.¹³ There he made the acquaintance of Mersenne and Roberval,¹⁴ and was soon taking geometry lessons from the latter. Mersenne was to describe du Verdus as Roberval's best pupil.¹⁵

It was probably in 1643 that du Verdus summarized what he had learned from Roberval in a treatise, 'Observations sur la composition des mouuemens & sur le moyen de trouuer les touchantes des lignes

courbes', which survives in several manuscripts. One early version is in Frénicle's hand, with annotations in Roberval's hand.¹⁶ In 1668–9 Roberval presented this text in the form of weekly lectures to the Académie royale des sciences,¹⁷ and it was later published.¹⁸ The original date of du Verdu's compilation cannot be established exactly, and one piece of evidence might suggest that it was written after his stay in Italy of 1644–5: on [11/] 21 May 1644 du Verdu told Torricelli that Roberval had never taught him his method of finding tangents (which is one of the main subjects of the treatise).¹⁹ But this deceptive remark must mean that Roberval, who was notoriously jealous in such matters (and was soon embroiled in an argument with Torricelli about plagiarism) had commanded his pupil not to reveal the method to the Italian mathematician. In a long letter written to Torricelli in late 1646 or early 1647 Roberval referred to du Verdu's manuscript treatise on this very topic: 'I made public my universal proposition about tangents in about the year 1636. The lessons I gave on this subject were written up by my pupil, the most noble M. du Verdu, and copied out by many people; they still exist and are in circulation.'²⁰ (At the time of writing this, Roberval had not seen du Verdu since 1643.) Another, expanded version of du Verdu's treatise is presumably one of the many copies Roberval refers to here: against a discussion of a curve related to the 'roulette' or trochoid, it bears the marginal annotation 'De M.^r de Rober. Le 20^e octobre 1645'.²¹ Du Verdu was in Rome at the time; Roberval was apparently using his treatise as the basis for courses he

was giving in Paris. So the inclusion in this manuscript of a section entitled 'Of the pteroid or "wing"-curve, from Mr Hobbes', which begins, 'Here is the method Mr Hobbes uses to describe this line', may have nothing to do with du Verdu.²²

François du Verdu had left Paris for Italy at the end of December 1643, in the entourage of Melchior Mitte, comte de Midans, marquis de Saint-Chaumont, who was on an embassy to the Holy See. He was entrusted by Mersenne with letters to various Italian scientists; in this way he gained the acquaintance of Evangelista Torricelli and Giovanni Battista Doni in Florence, and (through Torricelli) Michelangelo Ricci in Rome.²³ He also got to know Sir Kenelm Digby, who was in Rome in 1645–6.²⁴ Du Verdu stayed in Rome from April 1644 to the end of 1645 (with a brief visit to Naples in the autumn of 1645); ten letters survive which were sent by him to Torricelli during this period.²⁵ From these we learn that he had come to Rome in order to study architecture, astronomy, and painting, and that he was already forgetting the geometry which he had learned from Roberval.²⁶ Nevertheless, he tried to satisfy Torricelli's curiosity about Roberval's method of indivisibles, and sent him demonstrations on the subject of the 'pteroid' or 'wing'curve.²⁷ He was also corresponding

with Roberval on geometrical matters during the same period.²⁸ Du Verdus showed a strong interest in physical science too, writing about the value of philosophical doubt fortified by experimental science.²⁹ It was du Verdus who first passed the news to France of the Torricellian experiment to create a vacuum: Michelangelo Ricci showed him two letters from Torricelli describing the experiment, and he sent extracts from them to Mersenne, via Mersenne's friend and fellow Minim Jean-François Nicéron.³⁰ From Mersenne, via Pierre Petit, the news reached Pascal in Rouen, who

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then began the series of investigations which culminated in the famous barometric experiment on the Puy-de-Dôme in 1648.³¹

On [29 December 1645/] 8 January 1646 du Verdus returned to Bordeaux, and set about refurbishing his house at Cansec (in Ambarès) in order to instal there all the books he had acquired in Paris and Rome.³² He soon became entangled in the long-running dispute over the management of his estates which he describes with such feeling in Letter 78. From that letter we also learn that he intended to bear arms as a member of the *due d'Anjou's* household. But the complications of his financial affairs, the taking of the subdiaconate (probably in 1648–50), and then the upheavals of the Fronde in Bordeaux, prevented him from taking any such course. We know little else of his life during this period, except that he kept in touch with Mersenne, and was introduced by him to Thomas de Martel; he also corresponded with Claude Mylon, and became acquainted with the Bordelais mathematician and friend of Fermat, Étienne d'Espagnet.³³ From Letter 78 we learn too that he renewed his acquaintance with the abbé Bourdelot, who was staying in Bordeaux in 1650–1.³⁴

In 1651 du Verdus came to Paris, and it was probably only then that he met Hobbes for the first time, perhaps through de Martel or Roberval. It is possible, of course, that he had met Hobbes during his previous stay in Paris (1641–3), but there is simply no datable evidence to show that he had.³⁵ Other members of Mersenne's circle who had known Hobbes at that time, such as Digby and de Martel, were evidently unknown to du Verdus in 1641–3. Roberval certainly knew Hobbes by 1644, and so may possibly have known him before du Verdus's departure from Paris (a report of a geometrical discussion between Hobbes and Roberval at Mersenne's convent was printed in the latter's *Cogitata physico-mathematica* in 1644),³⁶ but this evidence is not sufficient to make the connection with du Verdus.

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From the warmth of their subsequent correspondence, it is clear that Hobbes and du Verdus formed a close friendship. Intellectually, Hobbes must have appealed to du Verdus for several reasons. In 1648 du Verdus had told Mersenne that 'since my return from Italy I

have liked nothing so much as our Pyrrhonism';³⁷ this probably meant that he had come to doubt the assumptions of traditional metaphysics and physics, and was therefore unprejudiced against Hobbes's radically un-scholastic position. Du Verdus had the cast of mind of a philosophical *libertin*: one contemporary recorded that he knew the works of Lucian by heart,³⁸ and Michel de Marolles described him and Bourdelot as 'so disabused of vulgar errors' when they took part (in c.1654) in a discussion of astrology, prophecy, and superstition.³⁹ In particular, Hobbes appealed to du Verdus for his political theory: du Verdus had suffered as a royalist and 'Espernoniste' during the Fronde,⁴⁰ and his entanglements with the Jesuits and other ecclesiastical bodies in Bordeaux had predisposed him to favour Hobbes's theory of church and state. In 1653 du Verdus obtained a royal licence to print a translation of Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*, and 'the other translations he has made of philosophical works';⁴¹ it seems that he was already planning to translate the whole of Hobbes's tripartite 'elements of philosophy', when it was ready, and for that purpose had persuaded Hobbes to send him proof-sheets of *De homine* as they came from the printers.⁴² By 1654, his last year in Paris, du Verdus was in contact with many of the surviving members of Mersenne's circle: from Hobbes's correspondence of that year we learn that in addition to de Martel and Roberval he knew Gassendi, de Carcavi, and those mathematicians who met, in a continuation of Mersenne's weekly gatherings, at the home of Jacques Le Pailleur.⁴³ He introduced Michel de Marolles to Sorbière, de Martel, and Abraham du Prat:⁴⁴ so by this stage, in 1654, the most devoted of Hobbes's French disciples were at last all known to one another.

In September 1654 du Verdus returned to Bordeaux,⁴⁵ and became

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caught up again in his various legal and ecclesiastical disputes. One form of solace was the study of Hobbes's works as they appeared, and learning English in order to read *Leviathan*.⁴⁶ By the end of 1655 he had translated *De corpore* into French; but publication of this translation was postponed indefinitely, probably because Hobbes wanted to revise some of the geometrical chapters of the book.⁴⁷ When du Verdus's translation of *De cive* was eventually published (without the section on religion) in 1660, it carried a note from the printer stating that du Verdus had already prepared translations of *De corpore* and *De homine*;⁴⁸ but these, like the translation of *Leviathan*, were never published. However, the translation of *De cive* had two editions in 1660, and a third, under the title *Maximes heroïques de la politique moderne au roy*, in 1665.⁴⁹

Of du Verdus's intellectual life during the 1660s we know almost nothing apart from what his letters to Hobbes tell us. He was cut off from most of his fellow Hobbists in France, by death

(Gassendi, du Bosc, du Prat), disillusionment (de Martel), or poor communications (Sorbière), But he was not entirely isolated; he was able to share his enthusiasm with François Peleau, and in the winter of 1663–4 he studied Hobbes's works with the astronomer Jean Picard.⁵⁰ It is quite likely that du Verdus attended the weekly gatherings of scientists, doctors, and mathematicians at the home of François-Henri Salomon de Virelade which took place in the 1660s and have been described as a Bordeaux 'Académie des sciences'.⁵¹ One of those attending these gatherings was the mathematician Étienne d'Espagnet; his father, Jean, a physicist, alchemist, and hermeticist, was the author of *Enchiridion physicae restitutae* (1623), which was to be described by Bayle as the first anti-Aristotelian work on physics written in France.⁵² Étienne, whom du Verdus had known since 1648, was left all du Verdus's mathematical

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works in his will of 1666.⁵³ Other members of de Virelade's group included Arnaud de Pontac (1599–1681), the *premier président* of the Parlement of Bordeaux, whose son was named by du Verdus as one of his literary executors.⁵⁴ and the physician Pierre de Galathea, one of whose 'discours' to this gathering was published as *Discours [...] touchant les forces de l'imagination* in 1669.⁵⁵ Galathea is named with du Verdus (and d'Espagnet) in a document concerning the election of a new Professor of Mathematics at the Collège de Guyenne after the death of Pierre Prades in 1664. On [4/] 14 March 1665 a committee (which had listened to lectures given by the candidates) met to make a recommendation; it consisted of Hiérosme Lopès (du Verdus's other literary executor),⁵⁶ Dr Brassier (regent of the University of Bordeaux), the mathematician Ignace-Gaston Pardies, and 'les sieurs de Maleret, du Verdus, d'Espagnet et Galathea, docteurs en médecine'.⁵⁷

In 1666 du Verdus drew up his will.⁵⁸ It is a melancholy document, tinged by the elements of paranoia and religious fervour which one finds in his final letters to Hobbes: 'God had given me friends, and He has taken them away. They have left me; so I leave them, and make no mention of them.'⁵⁹ Having listed a large number of relatives, he named as his general heir someone who was apparently not a member of his family, Mme Pitard Marie Tesnière, Dame de Brésillas, in view of 'what she has done for me [...] and what people have made her suffer on my account'.⁶⁰ He left his mathematical books to Étienne d'Espagnet, and 'all my other books, with my globes and spheres' to a M. du Val de Tercis.⁶¹ Du Verdus's manuscripts, including, presumably, his letters from Hobbes, were left to two people: François-Auguste de Pontac (son of the *premier président*), and Hiérosme Lopès. The latter (1617–94) was the son of an eminent doctor and converted

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Jew, François Lopès, and the brother of Pierre Lopès, Professor in the Faculté de Médecine at Bordeaux; Hiérosme had studied under the Jesuits (where du Verdus may have been a fellow student), and had become a canon of the cathedral church of Saint-André and Professor of Theology in the University of Bordeaux.⁶² Du Verdus's instructions were: 'I beg them, the two of them alone, to look at these writings, to keep those which they think are usable, to convey by their own hands to other people those writings which they decide that I had intended for those people, and to burn the rest.'⁶³ Finally, du Verdus wrote that he wished that someone would undertake the publication of three of his own manuscripts: a book in prose and verse entitled 'les Anagrammes' (of which nothing else is known), the poem 'Iride innamorata' (published, eventually, in the present volume: Letter 170, second enclosure), and the translation of *De sapientia veterum*, with its dedicatory epistles to Louis XIV and Hobbes. Whoever did this, he wrote, would automatically become his sole heir. Du Verdus desired this in order 'to obey the one person in the world to whom I was able to submit myself', and to whom the two former works were dedicated: this act of piety was thus perhaps intended as a final tribute to Hobbes.⁶⁴

François du Verdus died on [10/] 20 August 1675.⁶⁵ Within a few months, his litigious relatives and their allies had descended on his estate like locusts. Old debts of the du Verdus family were raked up, some of them going back as far as 1618. Judgment was passed against du Verdus's estate for the sum of 40,000 livres, and on [24 November/] 4 December 1675 his houses and land were seized.⁶⁶ Of his two intended literary executors, François-Auguste de Pontac had predeceased du Verdus, some time before 1673.⁶⁷ Hiérosme Lopès died on [19/] 29 April 1694; his will, of 1692, is cited as ADG 'série E, Notaires: Grégoire, no, 300, liasse 21, fo. 494' by the abbé Callen,⁶⁸ and as 'Minutes de Grégoire, 1694, fo. 494' by E.-V.-E. Teixeira de Mattos.⁶⁹ I

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have been unable to locate it using either the former reference (which does not correspond to the modern arrangement of these documents) or the latter (which should correspond to ADG MS 3 E 6772). However, Lopès was a prominent and devout Catholic, and it is unlikely that he would have taken much trouble to preserve the manuscripts of a Protestant free-thinker as notorious as Hobbes—especially since several of Hobbes's letters included explanations of his theory of church and state, in response to du Verdus's queries concerning part 3 of *Leviathan*. In 1868 a search for du Verdus's manuscripts in Bordeaux was instigated by Prosper Mérimée (at the request of several English scholars); but nothing was ever found.⁷⁰

EDMUND WALLER (1606–1687)

Waller came from a well-known gentry family of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, he entered Parliament, at the age of 16. In 1631 he married a rich heiress, and for most of the 1630s he led a comfortable retired life on his family estate at Beaconsfield. His son, Robert, was born in 1633, but in the following year Waller's wife died in childbirth. Thereafter the Christ Church divine George Morley, who was a distant kinsman of Waller,¹ became a close friend and frequent visitor to his home; and through Morley he was introduced to Lord Falkland's circle at Great Tew. Waller later told Aubrey that 'he was not acquainted with Ben. Johnson [...] but familiarly with Lucius, lord Falkland; Sydney Godolphin, Mr Hobbes; &c.'² Clarendon described him as 'of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation'.³ Also during the 1630s his reputation as a poet became established; Aubrey was to describe him as 'one of the first refiners of our English language and poetrey'.⁴ In 1638, together with Falkland, Godolphin, Dudley Digges, and other members of Falkland's circle, he contributed prefatory verses to the second edition of George Sandys's *Paraphrases* of the Psalms; in the same year he also contributed to the memorial volume *Jonsonus virbius*,

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and wrote a poem on the death of Lady Anne Rich, the sister of the third Earl of Devonshire.

In the Parliaments of 1640–1 Waller was at first a spokesman for the grievances of the Commons; but he did not support extreme proposals such as the call for the abolition of episcopacy, and by the outbreak of the Civil War he was committed to the King's cause. In May 1643 he was involved, together with his brother-in-law Nathaniel Tomkins, in a plot to seize London for the King. When their plan was discovered, Tomkins was executed but Waller pleaded eloquently for his own life and was imprisoned in the Tower, eventually being released and sent into exile in November 1644 on payment of a fine of £10,000. He lived first in Rouen, then in Paris; he was one of the very few exiles to have access to funds in England, and it has been said that 'no Englishman's table at Paris was so sumptuous as Mr Waller's'.⁵ In 1645 it appears that Hobbes was directing the studies of Waller's son, Robert, and a nephew—probably the son of Nathaniel Tomkins.⁶ From that year also dates Waller's plan, alluded to by Hobbes and described by Aubrey, to translate *De cive* into English.⁷ Waller spent much of the following two years, from January 1646 to September 1647, in Rouen.⁸

In 1651 Waller petitioned Parliament to revoke his sentence of banishment, and in 1652 he returned home. Waller was not reluctant to pull strings: Cromwell was a cousin of his mother,

and another cousin had married Colonel Adrian Scrope, the regicide and parliamentary governor of Bristol. In 1655 Waller was appointed a Commissioner of Trade. Despite this, and despite his heartfelt panegyric ode to Cromwell, he was well received by the King at the Restoration; he resumed his career as an MP, and was to become the only person to have sat in the Parliaments of both James I and James II. He was one of the first Fellows of the Royal Society, having joined in January 1661; but he was no more than 'slightly active' member in the 1660s, paying his dues in 1661–3 only.⁹ Also in the 1660s he was a frequent visitor to the Dowager Countess of Devonshire's house.¹⁰ His admiration for Hobbes remained undimmed: he told Aubrey that 'what he was most to be

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commended for was that he being a private person threw downe the strongholds of the Church'.¹¹ Nevertheless, Waller was too timorous to make his admiration public. As Aubrey also recorded, 'M^r Edm: Waller sayd to me, when I desired him to write some verses in praise of him, that he was afraid of the Churchmen.'¹² Waller died in 1687, having consulted Hobbes's old friend the physician Sir Charles Scarborough in his final illness.¹³

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON (1633-1701)

The son of a Cumbrian vicar, Williamson was educated at Westminster School and The Queen's College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1650 and proceeded BA in 1654.¹ He then travelled as a tutor to a young nobleman (possibly a son of the Marquis of Ormonde) in France and The Netherlands, acquiring both a good knowledge of foreign languages and some useful contacts among the royalist exiles. He returned to Oxford, becoming a Fellow of The Queen's College in 1657, but left again soon after the Restoration to work in the office of the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas. In 1661 he was also appointed Keeper of the State Paper Office (a post which he retained until his death)² and Latin Secretary to the King. In the following year Nicholas was succeeded by Sir Henry Bennet (later Lord Arlington), with whom Williamson developed a close working relationship which was to last throughout Bennet's thirteen years as Secretary of State. John Evelyn was later to give a rather jaundiced account of this relationship: Arlington, he wrote, 'loving his ease more than businesse, [...] remitted all to his man *Williamson*, & in a short time let him so into the seacret of affaires, that (as his Lordship himselfe told me) there was a kind of necessity to advance him; & so by his subtilty, dexterity & insinuation, he got now to be principal Secretary; absolutely my L: *Arlingtons* Creature, and ungratefull enough'.³

Williamson's work mainly involved acting for Arlington in the latter's capacity as head of the Post Office, and gathering intelligence— some of which Williamson published in the *London Gazette*, which he

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issued from 1666 onwards. It was through Williamson that Henry Oldenburg arranged for his foreign correspondents' letters, addressed to 'M. Grubendol, London', to be delivered free of charge, in return for which Oldenburg would extract any political news from the letters and send it to Williamson.⁴ Nevertheless, it seems that he was powerless to help Oldenburg when the latter was arrested in 1667, at Arlington's behest, over some indiscreet remarks in Oldenburg's own letters.⁵

Williamson made several attempts to enter Parliament in 1666–7, succeeding finally (as MP for Thetford) in 1669; he later sat either for Thetford or for Rochester in all the Parliaments (except that of 1689) up until 1701. In 1672 he was knighted and made clerk to the Privy Council,⁶ and in 1673–4 he served as one of the British envoys to the Congress of Cologne. On his return he succeeded Arlington as Secretary of State; he also entered the Privy Council and was made LLD at Oxford. He was removed from his secretaryship in 1678, as a result of the hysteria of the Popish Plot (he was accused of favouring Roman Catholics), but returned to the Privy Council in 1696, and enjoyed a brief revival of his diplomatic career in the last four years before his death.

Williamson retained his fellowship of The Queen's College until his marriage in 1678; he was known as a man of wide intellectual interests, though Pepys drily described him as 'a pretty knowing man and a scholar, but it may be he thinks himself to be too much so'.⁷ He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in early 1662, attended regularly in the 1660s, was on the Council of the Society from 1674 to 1690, and was President from 1677 to 1680.⁸ His library, which he bequeathed to his old Oxford college, contained significant collections of books on 'Mathematicks' (which included astronomy and music) and 'Naturall Phylosophy' (where his collection displays a special interest in Bacon, Gassendi, and Boyle).⁹ He owned five of Hobbes's works: *Leviathan*, *De corpore*, *De principiis & ratiocinatione*, *The Iliads and Odysseys of Homer*, and *Decameron physiologicum*.¹⁰ However, although Hobbes referred in his second letter (Letter 181) to having spoken to Williamson in person, the

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fact that he left a blank for Williamson's Christian name in the address of his first letter (Letter 178), and called him 'John' in the address of his second, suggests that their degree of personal acquaintance was very slight.

ANTHONY WOOD (1632-1695)

Wood was born in Oxford; his grandfather had been a prosperous innkeeper, and his father, who had studied at Oxford, lived on the income from various leasehold properties in that city. He went to school in Oxford and Thame, and matriculated at Merton College in 1647. When he appeared before the parliamentary Visitors in 1648 he tried to avoid answering their question ('Will you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?'); according to his own account he was saved by his mother's intercession, which ensured that 'he was conniv'd at and kept in his place, otherwise he had infallibly gon to the pot'.¹ Wood's family was of royalist sympathies, and his elder brother Thomas had served in the royalist cavalry.

Wood proceeded BA in 1652. He remained at the university and became a 'constant student' in the Bodleian Library, developing his special interests in heraldry, local history, and music.² He was admitted MA in 1655, and might have been expected to obtain a fellowship at Merton, 'had it not been for his notoriously peevish temper'.³ Instead he continued to live in the family house in Oxford (opposite the gate of Merton); he indulged his passion for music, and was stimulated to start making his own historical collections by the appearance in 1656 of William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*. 'A. Wood's tender affections and insatiable desire of knowledg', he later wrote, 'were ravish'd and melted downe by the reading of that book.'⁴

In 1660 Wood was granted access to the university archives, and began studying and revising the huge collection of materials on the history of the city and University of Oxford compiled by the antiquary Brian Twyne. For the next fourteen years he worked intensively on three interrelated projects: a history of the city, a compilation of the annals of the university, and a historical collection of materials relating to the university's buildings, chairs, colleges, and other institutions. The first of these remained in manuscript until after his death, but the

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second and third received an offer of publication from Dr John Fell, the Dean of Christ Church, who arranged (in 1669-70) for the University Press to undertake the work and personally underwrote the entire cost of publication. At Fell's suggestion, Wood also began to incorporate brief biographies of prominent Oxford alumni. John Aubrey had become acquainted with Wood in 1667,⁵ and before long he was contributing a stream of biographical material to his fellow antiquary.

Aubrey obtained from Hobbes a short autobiographical account, which he sent to Wood for inclusion in the section of his book devoted to Magdalen Hall. Wood's work was published in 1674 as *Historia et antiquitates universitatis oxoniensis*, in two folio volumes. It contained a version of the life of Hobbes submitted by Aubrey (ii, pp. 376-7); but the text had been

altered in several places by the overseer of the publication, John Fell. More than two months before publication, Wood wrote to apologize for this abuse to Aubrey (and, via Aubrey, to Hobbes). On 9 [/19] April 1674 Aubrey wrote to Wood: 'Kind Friend! I received y^rs [> concerning] M^r T. Hobbes, w^{ch} he has; and remembers him kindly to you and will be glad to see you when you come to Towne. But desires you will write to Him a *letter of Complaint* [> as you did to me] concerning D^r Fell, and he will in an Answer vindicate himselfe'⁶ Hobbes's letter of protest (Letter 197) was sent to Wood in manuscript; Wood showed it to Fell, who merely remarked that Hobbes 'had one foote in the grave, that he should mind his latter end and not trouble the world any more with his papers'.⁷ By the time the printing of the book was completed in June, Wood himself had suggested to Hobbes that he should have his letter of protest printed on a single folio broadside for inclusion at the end of the second volume. Aubrey wrote to Wood on 25 June [/5 July] 1674: 'Deare friend! I am glad to heare your Booke is printed: I communicated your l[ette]re to M^r Hobbes who desires to be kindly rememberd to you, and desired me to write by this Post, to let him know by y^e next post, *How long and broad y^e paper must bee? How many Copies you print?*'⁸ Two dozen copies of the letter were sent to Oxford on 1 [/11] July,⁹ and other copies circulated in London: on 11 [/21] July Thomas Blount wrote to Wood that 'I have seen Mr. Hobbs

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letter to you in print.¹⁰ But at the end of the following month Aubrey recorded: 'I am sorry I cannot perswade the Bookesellers to buy & insert M^r Hobbs Epistles.'¹¹ Instead of including this extra sheet by Hobbes, Wood's book was made to include an abusively defiant reply to Hobbes's complaints by John Fell.¹²

Two years later Wood was still trying to collect materials on Hobbes's life: prompted by Wood, Aubrey was searching for copies of letters by Hobbes.¹³ Soon after Hobbes's death Wood wrote to the Earl of Devonshire's secretary, Justinian Morse, for a detailed account of his final illness and his burial—which Morse sent him on 9 [/19] January 1680.¹⁴ During the next two months Aubrey consulted him repeatedly over the preparation of the 'Vitae Hobbiana auctarium', which Aubrey and Blackbourne published with Hobbes's autobiographies in 1681.¹⁵ On 27 March [/6 April] 1680 Aubrey wrote to Wood: 'My good Friend! I thanke you heartily for y^r care in my businesse concerning the compleating of m^r Hobbes life.'¹⁶ Wood was still collecting biographical materials for his own purposes: he was now compiling a full-scale biographical dictionary of Oxonians, *Athenae oxonienses*, which was eventually published in 1691–2 together with a revised version of the annals of degree ceremonies, etc. (the *Fasti oxonienses*) previously contained in his *Historia et antiquitates*. The costs of publication almost ruined him; and worse consequences followed when the

second Earl of Clarendon prosecuted Wood in 1692 for libelling his father, (Wood had written that the first Earl sold offices at the Restoration: he had received this information from Aubrey, whom he complained of bitterly as a result.) Wood was expelled from the university in 1693, and the offending pages were burnt. Yet he continued to work on a further collection of Oxonian biographies, and was still engaged in this task when he died in late 1695.

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Notes

¹ Foster.

² Ibid.

³ [Savile,] *Ultima linea Savillii*, sig. D2^r.

⁴ *Carolus redux*, sig. G1^r.

⁵ [Stanhope,] *Funerall Elegies*, pp. 34–5.

⁶ [Camden,] *Camdeni insignia*, sigs. F1^v (Aglionby), C2^v (Godolphin), A3^v–A4^r (Burton), C4^v (Browne).

⁷ BL MS Harl. 4955, fo. 188; see the account of this MS in Jonson, *Works*, vii, p. 767.

⁸ See the Biographical Register, 'Payne'.

⁹ Foster.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *ABL* i, p. 151; *Athenae*, ii, col, 567.

¹² *ABL* i, p. 370.

¹³ Foster.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Stephens (ed.), *Aubrey on Education*, p. 160.

¹⁶ Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 215.

¹⁷ Foster; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 2.

¹⁸ *ABL* i, p. 370; Foster.

¹⁹ Chatsworth, uncatalogued Hardwick MS, Disbursements at Hardwick 1655–67, entry for Dec. 1655.

¹ *ABL* i, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 332.

³ Powell, *Aubrey and his Friends*, pp. 44–8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–8; *ABL* i, p. 38.

⁵ Hunter, *Aubrey*, p. 40.

⁶ Frank, 'Aubrey, Lydall, and Science at Oxford'.

⁷ Hunter, *Aubrey*, p. 43.

⁸ *ABL* i, p. 300. For two prescriptions from Harvey for Aubrey, dated 1653 and 1655, see Keynes, *Life of Harvey*, pp. 439–42.

⁹ In a list headed 'Amici' at the end of an autobiographical fragment, Aubrey dates his friendship with Hobbes as follows: 'Mr, Hobbes, 165-' (*ABL* i, p. 43).

¹⁰ Powell, *Aubrey and his Friends*, pp. 91–4.

¹¹ *ABL* i, pp. 339–40.

¹² Powell, *Aubrey and his Friends*, p. 101; Letter 143.

¹³ *ABL* i, p. 47.

¹⁴ Hunter, *Aubrey*, pp. 37–147. In the late 1650s or early 1660s he undertook a course of lessons with the Danish mathematician Nicolas Mercator: OWC MS 4.9.

¹⁵ Powell, *Aubrey and his Friends*, pp. 108, 149.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁷ Bodl. MS Aubrey 21, fo. 76^r.

¹⁸ Britton, *Memoir of Aubrey*, p. 55.

¹⁹ *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, pp. 21–221 (OL i, pp. xxii–lxxx); cf. Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fos. 127–32.

²⁰ Britton, *Memoir of Aubrey*, p. 69.

²¹ *Life and Times*, ii, p. 117.

²² Hunter, *Aubrey*, p. 212.

¹ *Athenae*, iii, col. 944.

² Testimonial dated 7 [17] March 1656, printed in Bagshaw, *True and Perfect Narrative*, p. 1.

³ *Dissertationes duae anti-socinianae* (London, 1657).

⁴ *True and Perfect Narrative*, p. 2.

⁵ Ibid., p. 28

⁶ 'Oratio de philosophiâ peripateticâ', in his *Exercitationes duae*, pp. 29–36.

⁷ A. Wood, *Life and Times*, i, p. 359.

⁸ *ABL* i, p. 290.

⁹ Sig. A2^v.

¹⁰ *Practicall Discourse*, p. 14.

¹¹ The 'Exercitatio', published at the end of *A Letter to Mr Thomas Pierce*, uses passages from *Animadversiones*, pp. 1615–17, 1619, 1644 (see M.O., *Fratres in malo*, pp. 13–14).

¹² p. 9.

¹³ *Fratres in malo*, pp. 2, 5–6.

¹⁴ The date is given in Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, p. 35; three editions were published in 1660.

¹⁵ *The Great Question concerning Things Indifferent*, pp. 2, 13.

¹⁶ Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, pp. 117–75; it is dated 11 [/21] December 1660.

¹⁷ *Exercitationes duae*, pp. 1–21.

¹⁸ *The Second Part of the Great Question* (1661); *The Necessity & Use of Heresies* (1662?).

¹⁹ *Letter to the Earl of Clarendon*, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5; Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, p. 31.

²¹ *Narrative of the Proceedings in Ireland*, pp. 1–4.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²³ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, i, p. 379.

²⁴ *Athenae*, iii, cols. 945–6.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, col. 949.

¹ Foster.

² *Exercitationes aliquot metaphysicae de Deo*, printed with a separate title-page dated 1637, but appended (with continuous signatures) to Barlow's edition of Scheibler's *Metaphysica* (1638).

³ Barlow, *Genuine Remains*, pp. 157–9. This claim was also echoed by Barlow's protégé Henry Stubbe: see the Biographical Register, 'Stubbe'.

⁴ Barlow, *Genuine Remains*, pp. 324–9.

⁵ The date 1642 for this appointment, given in *DNB* and repeated in many other works, is an error.

⁶ The earliest version is BL MS Harl. 6007, fos. 1–9.

⁷ St John's College, Cambridge, MS K 38, published in De Jordy and Fletcher, '*A Library for Younger Schollers*'; another version is in Bodl. MS Rawl. C 945.

⁸ *Genuine Remains*, pp. 1–121; issued separately, and emended, as *Ἀυτοσχεδιάσματα de studio theologiae* (1699).

⁹ De Jordy and Fletcher, '*A Library for Younger Schollers*', p. 49.

¹⁰ OQC MS 243, fo. 37^v.

¹¹ Boyle, *Works*, i, p. 49.

¹² Published eventually in his *Several Cases of Conscience*, pp. 1–93.

¹³ *Genuine Remains*, pp. 153, 155.

¹⁴ OQC MS 204, fos. 137–84, numbered originally pp. 1–94: here pp. 1, 78–9. A copy of Hobbes's tract, with Barlow's annotations, is in OQC MS 449, fos. 118–26.

¹⁵ OQC MS 195, fos. 24–70.

¹⁶ Cf. OQC MS 204, fos. 134–5.

¹⁷ pp. 185–8.

¹ Foster.

² Frank, *Harvey and Oxford Physiologists*, p. 29.

³ Frank, *Harvey and Oxford Physiologists*, pp. 30, 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7; [Watkins] *Newes from the Dead*, p. 3.

⁵ See Sir Charles's letter to Petty, 9/19 Apr. 1648, Sheffield University Library MS Hartlib 8/29.

⁶ *Humane Nature* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 11 [/21] Dec. 1649 (*Transcript of Registers*, i, p. 332); Thomason received his copy on 21 Feb. [/3 March] 1650.

⁷ Warton, *Life of Bathurst*, pp. 222–8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127–210; his theories are discussed in Frank, *Harvey and Oxford Physiologists*, pp. 108–12.

⁹ Sprat, *History*, p. 54.

¹⁰ Hoppen, 'Nature of the Early Royal Society', p. 12.

¹¹ Hunter, *Royal Society*, p. 187.

¹² See the *DNB* article on Bathurst, which dismisses the rumours for that reason.

¹³ BL MS Loan 57/68, fo. 64^v. The fate of the box is unknown, but other papers were later bequeathed by Richard Healy to his grandson, who lent them to Thomas Warton in the 1750s; their present whereabouts are unknown.

¹ See de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Het werk van de Blaeu's', p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ De la Fontaine Verwey, 'Het werk van de Blaeu's', p. 7.

⁴ Kleerkooper and van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, i, p. 42.

⁵ De la Fontaine Verwey, 'Het werk van de Blaeu's', p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Kleerkooper and van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, i, p. 44.

⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, 'Het werk van de Blaeu's', p. 11.

¹ *A Voyage into the Levant*.

² BL MS Add. 36242, fo. 166^r.

³ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 170–1.

⁴ *ABL* i, p. 110.

⁵ *ABL*, i, pp. 108–11.

⁶ Aubrey and Blackbourne, 'Vitae Hobbianaue auctarium', in Hobbes, *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, p. 186 (*OL* i, p. lxx).

⁷ Walber, *Charles Blount, Frühaufklärer*, p. 16; Charles Gildon implies this in his preface to Blount, *Miscellaneous Work*, sig. A4^r.

⁸ *ABL* i, p. 109.

⁹ *Biographia britannica*.

¹⁰ Walber, *Charles Blount, Frühaufklärer*, p. 18.

¹¹ BL MS Add. 36242, fos. 77^v, 131^r.

¹² *The Censure of the Rota and The Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden*.

¹³ J. S. L. Gilmour, the compiler of Blount's bibliography, takes the 'Amsterdam' here to be genuine ('Some Uncollected Authors', p. 184). But had the work really been printed in Amsterdam, there would have been no reason why the date should not also have been given correctly. The ostentatious unreality of the date must throw doubt on the place as well, implying that the book was probably printed surreptitiously in London. A 2nd edn. was printed in London in 1679 (*ibid.*, p. 184).

¹⁴ See the discussion of these arguments in Bonanate, *Charles Blount: libertinismo e deismo*, pp. 17–33.

¹⁵ Blount, *Oracles of Reason*, pp. 117–25; much of the material in this letter was borrowed, like part of Letter 201, from Henry Stubbe's *Account of the Rise of Mahometanism*.

¹⁶ J. R. Jones, 'Green Ribbon Club'; Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Misc. VII, fo. 489^r (referring to the 'King's Head Club').

¹⁷ p. 2.

¹⁸ p. 151.

¹⁹ Athenaeum, London, casemark 100Ab: 'Blount's Miscellanea MS'. The starting-date is stated on p. 1, which also has jottings dated Apr. and June 1682 and Mar. 1684. I am grateful to the Committee of the Athenaeum for permission to consult this MS, to the Librarian, Sarah Dodgson, for her help, and to Dr Felipe Fernández-Armesto for bringing it to my attention.

²⁰ pp. 142–58.

²¹ pp. 314–17; here p. 314.

²² p. 6.

²³ pp. 25–8.

²⁴ pp. 53, 55–6.

²⁵ *ABL* i, p. 356.

²⁶ Athenaeum, Blount copy-book, p. 55; the extract begins 'Excommunication is a sword' in the first broadside, and 'When a Pope excommunicates a Kingdom' in the second.

²⁷ Athenaeum, Blount copy-book, p. 56; the extract, from *Leviathan*, p. 51, is printed in *The Last Sayings of Mr Thomas Hobbs*.

²⁸ Athenaeum, Blount copy-book, p. 27; the extract is from *Decameron physiologicum*, p. 19 (*EW* vii, p. 85).

²⁹ *King William and Queen Mary, Conquerours*.

³⁰ Luttrell, *Parliamentary Diary*, p. 379.

³¹ It was published before Blount's death: Walber, *Charles Blount, Frühaufklärer*, p. 35.

³² BL MS 36242, fo. 368^r.

³³ *Miscellaneous Works*, sig. A4^r.

¹ 'fort jeune': *Relations, lettres*, p. 289.

² Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 30, disbursements for Michaelmas 1638—Lady Day 1639.

³ *Relation d'un voyage*, p. 159.

⁴ MC ix, pp. 122–3 (14/24 feb. 1640).

⁵ BN MSS f.fr. 17374–87; some of these extracts are printed, from copies in the Imperial library in St Petersburg, in de la Ferrière, 'Troisième rapport'.

⁶ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 627.

⁷ BL MS Add. 4278, fos. 259–60.

⁸ 'Translaté sur l'original Anglois par moy Con^{er} Sec^r du Roy et de ses finances, et sec.^r Interprete de sa Mat^e en la langue Angloise' (OCC, Evelyn correspondence, Letters to Evelyn, no. 556). 'The King' here must mean Louis XIV. The document translated by du Bosc was a decree by Charles II appointing Sir Richard Browne Receiver-General of Customs.

⁹ *Lettres et discours*, p. 151.

¹⁰ De la Ferrière, 'Troisième rapport', pp. 39, 20–1.

¹¹ 'De vita et moribus Gassendi', sig, *****2^r.

¹² 'il deuoit beaucoup à la fréquente & reïterée lecture de Bacon et d'Epictete'; 'vn scepticisme épuré par les pieux sentimens, & fortifié par la Morale Chrestienne' (*Relations, lettres*, pp. 290–1, 294).

¹³ Sorbière, *Lettres et discours*, pp. 151–81.

¹⁴ 'd'un naturel si doux et si affable que tout le monde estoit charmé de son entretien' (BN MS f.fr. 23253, fo. 124r).

¹⁵ Pugh, *Blacklo's Cabal*, p. 78.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁷ BN MS f.fr. 23253, fo. 124r; according to an annotation on Digby's copy of the letter of condolence he sent to du Bosc (in Feb. 1650), the sister was pregnant when she was killed (Pugh, *Blacklo's Cabal*, p. 91).

¹⁸ Letter 140.

¹ Henning, *House of Commons 1660–1690*, i, p. 727.

² [Cokayne,] *Complete Baronetage*, iv, p. 75.

³ Venn & Venn.

⁴ Rawdon, *Life*, p. 89.

⁵ Hunter, *Royal Society*, p. 178.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 797.

⁷ Henning, *House of Commons 1660–1690*, i, p. 727.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 727–8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i, p. 728.

¹⁰ Hill, *Familiar Letters*, p. 88.

¹¹ Bodl. MS Lister 34, fo. 16r.

¹² Hill, *Familiar Letters*, p. 95.

¹³ OC viii, p. 301.

¹⁴ Bodl. MS Lister 34, fos. 69–70, 76–7, 61–2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 62r.

¹ See the Biographical Register, 'Charles II'.

² BL MS Add. 4180, fo. 54r: printed in Warner, *Nicholas Papers*, i, p. 285.

³ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, iv, p. 418.

⁴ HMC, *Ormonde*, p. 508.

⁵ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, i, p. x.

¹ See Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, p. 21.

² ABL i, p. 153.

³ Smith, *Life and Letters of Wotton*, ii, p. 2.

⁴ Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, pp. 46–7.

⁵ Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, p. 47; Jonson, *Works*, vii, pp. 776–7 (lines 220–45). The entertainment was written for the christening of a Charles Cavendish; Trease thinks this was a nephew of Sir Charles who died in infancy, but the editors of Jonson suggest more convincingly that it was the second son of the future second Earl of Devonshire (see the Biographical Register, 'The Hon. Charles, Cavendish').

⁶ Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, p. 51; Stevenson *et al.* (eds.), *Nottingham Borough Records*, v, p. 129.

⁷ BL MS Add. 70499, fo. 145r: Richard Andrews to the Earl of Newcastle, London, 22 June [2 July] 1631. Andrews writes in a postscript: 'My seruice to S^r Charles Cavendish; to whome I sent a letter the last weeke, wch came from Mons.^r Mydorge from Paris.'

⁸ 'totius Matheseos summè perito, nobisque amicissimo' (sig. *4^r); the dedicatory epistle is present in some copies, e.g. Bodl. Savile Q9.

⁹ Bodl. Savile O 9; see the Biographical Register, 'Payne'.

¹⁰ Sig. A4r.

¹¹ MC iv, pp. 365–7; Jacquot, 'Sir Charles Cavendish and his Friends', pp. 14–15.

¹² See the Biographical Register, 'Payne'; Halliwell (ed.), *Collection of Letters*, pp. 65–7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65–6 (BL MS Add. 4279, fo. 182), a letter from Payne to Pell, wrongly identified by Halliwell as from Payne to Warner: it states that Payne and Sir Charles have studied Pell's papers on 'the mid-ship-mould'.

¹⁴ Rigaud (ed.), *Correspondence of Scientific Men*, i, pp. 22–3, 28.

¹⁵ Present in some copies, e.g. Bodl. Savile Q 13.

¹⁶ Hobbes, *Anti-White*, p. 14 n.

¹⁷ See the Biographical Register, 'Payne'.

¹⁸ Sir Charles Cavendish to Payne, 6 [/16] December 1639, tipped into Bodl. Savile Q. 9 at p. 134.

¹⁹ BL MS Add. 4417, fo. 39^r.

²⁰ BL MS Add. 4278, fos. 161–73.

²¹ *History*, ii, p. 753.

²² See von Brockdorff, 'Des Sir Charles Cavendish Bericht', pp. 1–2.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–4; BL MS Add. 4278, fos. 196 (Cavendish's letter, dated 27 June/7July), 200 (Hobbes's theorem).

²⁴ Pell became Professor of Mathematics at Amsterdam in 1643, and Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Breda in 1646. Letters from this correspondence (BL MS Add. 4278) are printed in Vaughan, *Protectorate*, ii, pp. 363–76, Halliwell, *Collection of Letters*, p. 88, Hervey, 'Hobbes and Descartes', and MC xiv–xv.

²⁵ MC xiv, pp. 286–95, 536; xv, p. 370.

²⁶ BL MS Harl. 6083, fos. 71–4, 194–211; these have not been bound in their correct order (see the detailed account in Pacchi, *Convenzione e ipotesi*, pp. 18–23).

²⁷ BL MS Harl. 6083, fos. 179–82.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 177 (printed in Minerbi Belgrado, 'Hobbes "Of Passions"').

²⁹ BL MS Harl. 6083, fo. 167.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fos. 178–9.

³¹ BL MS Add. 4278, fo. 291^v; cf. fos. 295^r, 313^r.

³² Grant, *Margaret the First*, p. 108.

³³ K. Jones, *A Glorious Fame*, pp. 75–6.

³⁴ Vaughan, *Protectorate*, ii, p. 384.

³⁵ Grant, *Margaret the First*, p. 109.

¹ Grove, *Lives of the Earls of Devonshire*, p. 17.

² Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 30, disbursements for Michaelmas 1637—Michaelmas 1638.

³ Nichols, *History of the County of Leicester*, i, p. 289 n.

⁴ Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province*, vi, pp. 618, 612.

⁵ H. F. Brown, *Inglesi e scozzesi a Padova*, p. 151.

⁶ *ABL* i, p. 154.

⁷ Nichols, *History of the County of Leicester*, i, p. 289 n.

⁸ *ABL* i, p. 154.

⁹ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, p. 47.

¹⁰ Nailour, *Commemoration Sermon*, p. 16.

¹ [Cokayne,] *Complete Peerage*, 'Bruce of Kinloss'.

² *Ibid.*, 'Bruce of Kinloss' and 'Elgin'.

³ Brodhurst, 'Extracts from a Book of Accounts', p. 2.

⁴ Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*, p. 126.

⁵ Brodhurst, 'Extracts from a Book of Accounts', p. 2.

⁶ Pomfret, *Life of the Countess of Devonshire*, pp. 23–4.

⁷ PRO microfilm Prob. 11/154, fo. 39^r.

⁸ NRO DD P 114/69 is a copy of the indenture; Hobbes is named as a witness.

⁹ PRO microfilm Prob. 11/154, fo. 38^r.

¹⁰ Ibid., fo. 39^v.

¹¹ Pomfret, *Life of the Countess of Devonshire*, p. 27.

¹² Ibid., p. 36.

¹³ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 27, entries for Michaelmas 1628-Michaelmas 1631.

¹⁴ See the Biographical Register, 'Aglionby'.

¹⁵ Pomfret, *Life of the Countess of Devonshire*, pp. 33-4.

¹⁶ See the Biographical Register, 'The Hon. Charles Cavendish',

¹⁷ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, p. 45.

¹⁸ Chatsworth, MS Hobbes D. 6, fo. 2^r.

¹⁹ See the Biographical Register, 'William Cavendish, third Earl of Devonshire'.

²⁰ PRO microfilm Prob. 11/154, fo. 38^v.

²¹ *VCH Surrey*, iv, pp. 79-80; Lysons, *Environs of London*, i, p. 430; Pomfret, *Life of the Countess of Devonshire*, p. 70.

²² Lysons, *Environs of London*, i, p. 431.

²³ Pomfret, *Life of the Countess of Devonshire*, p. 73.

²⁴ Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England*, p. 192.

²⁵ Magalotti, *Relazioni d'Inghilterra*, p. 128 n.

²⁶ Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*, p. 132.

²⁷ Lysons, *Environs of London*, i, p. 432.

²⁸ HOC iv, p. 375.

²⁹ HMC, *Ailesbury*, p. 170.

³⁰ Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*, pp. 136–7.

³¹ 'sta in un magnifico palazzo trattandosi da qualche cosa più che da gran principessa. [...] Si fa servire da gentiluomini, fa ogni giorno tavola sontuosa. La sua case è sempre piene di visite, Il suo appartamento è pieno di preziose suppellettili e d'argenterie. Ella siede sopra un letto da riposo [...] sotto una spezie di baldacchino [...]. La contessa non si muove, nè si alza altrimenti che sostenuta sulle braccia di due bellissime damigelle. Gli ottantasei anni e' il paralitico ch'ella ha nel collo, onde gira sempre la testa come un tempo d'oriuolo, non le impediscono di portar sottanini di stoffe perlate con fiorami di colori allegri e gran merlette d'argento' (Magalotti, *Relazioni d'Inghilterra*, pp. 128–9). This suggests that she too, like Hobbes, suffered from the 'shaking palsy'.

³² Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*, p. 135.

¹ Cavendish, *Life of Newcastle*, p. 194.

² *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, sig. B3^v.

³ *Life of Newcastle*, pp. 135–6.

⁴ See the Biographical Register, 'Sir Charles Cavendish'.

⁵ *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, sig. B3^v.

⁶ Grant, *Margaret the First*, pp. 116–17.

⁷ *Philosophical Letters*, pp. 18–97.

⁸ sig. li1^v.

¹ Smith, *Life and Letters of Wotton*, i, p. 120; ii, p. 2.

² ABL i, p. 365.

³ BL MS Harl. 3360, fo. 3^r.

⁴ See the Biographical Register, 'Sir Charles Cavendish'.

⁵ The MS is printed in full, and its first page reproduced in facsimile, in Strong, *Catalogue*, pp. 237–40, 55; its present whereabouts are unknown.

⁶ ABL i, p. 366; Cavendish, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, sig. B3^v.

⁷ Vaughan, *Protectorate*, ii, p. 366.

⁸ BL MS Harl. 6083, fo. 177^v: printed in Minerbi Belgrado, 'Hobbes, "Of Passions"', p. 737.

⁹ NUL MS Pw 1. 406.

¹ See the Biographical Register, 'Christian, Countess of Devonshire'.

² Chatsworth, MS Hobbes D. 1. For the relation between this manuscript and Hobbes's *Briefe of the Art of Rhetorique*, see Harwood (ed.), *Rhetorics of Hobbes and Lamy*, pp. 2–6.

³ Letter 10 n. 11.

⁴ Letter 11 n. 2.

⁵ Letters 12, 21.

⁶ Chatsworth, MS Hobbes D. 6, fo. 3^r.

⁷ Chatsworth, MS Hobbes D. 6, fo. 3^v.

⁸ Letter 45. He made a similar request to Edmund Waller in 1652: Waller, *Poems*, ii, p. 198.

⁹ BL MS Harl. 6942, no. 127: Payne to Sheldon, 7 [17] March 1650.

¹⁰ Warner (ed.), *Nicholas Papers*, iii, p. 9.

¹¹ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 14, entries for Oct. 1656.

¹² Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 33, entries for Apr. 1659; MS Hobbes E. 3.

¹³ HMC, *Ailesbury*, p. 161.

¹⁴ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 164–5.

¹⁵ 'vne grande connoissance des sciences. Aussi a t-il esté esleué par M. Hobbes, lequel il aime & reuere au delà de ce que ceux de son rang ont accoustumé de reuerer leurs Gouverneurs lors qu'ils ne sont plus aupres d'eux en cette qualité' (*Relation d'un voyage*, pp. 159–60).

¹⁶ 'ta cognizione universale che tiene delle scienze, merci dell'ottima educazione da lut ricevuta dal signor Hobbes' (Magalotti, *Un principe in Inghilterra*, p. 141).

¹ Hutton, *Charles the Second*, p. 3.

² Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, p. 80.

³ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ii, p. 388.

⁴ Hammond to Sheldon, 25 Nov. [/5 Dec] 1651 ('Blustrations of the state of the Church', xii (1851), p. 92).

⁵ Hyde, *Brief View and Survey*, p. 3.

⁶ *Behemoth*, p. 175.

⁷ This MS, described by Hyde in *Brief View and Survey*, p. 8, is presumably to be identified with BL MS Egerton 1910.

⁸ BL MS Add. 4180, fo. 53^r: printed in Warner (ed.), *Nicholas Papas*, i, p. 284.

⁹ *Mr Hobbes Considered*, p. 28 (EW iv, pp. 424–5).

¹⁰ ABL i, p. 340.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 's'il eust esté vn peu moins dogmatique, il eust esté fort necessaire à l'Academie Royale: Car il y a peu de gens qui regardent les choses de plus prés que luy' (*Relation d'un voyage*, p. 97).

¹³ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁴ Letter 208.

¹⁵ Cranston, 'Locke and Aubrey', p. 383.

¹⁶ Aubrey to Wood, 23 July [/2 Aug.] 1674: Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 104^r.

¹⁷ See the general note to Letter 210.

¹⁸ *Life of Milton*, vi, p. 290.

¹ Venn & Venn.

² See the series of very affectionate letters from Newcastle to Sir Gervase, 1632–9, NUL MSS Clifton C 339–44.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council 1630–1631*, p. 29.

⁴ *Biathanatos*, p. xlvii.

⁵ Ibid., pp. xxxv–xxxvi; Clifton could have been lent the work later by Edward Herbert.

⁶ NUL MS Clifton C 567. Grattan Flood, 'A Marston Letter', and Brettell, 'Notes on Marston' both discuss this MS but both misidentify the recipient as Sir Gervase Clifton of Leighton Bromswold.

⁷ Marston, *Poems*, pp. 44–5.

⁸ NUL MS Clifton A 301.

⁹ NUL MS Clifton C 138.

¹⁰ NUL MS Clifton C 598.

¹¹ Lady Bruce, 'Ancient Documents', p. 170.

¹² Suckling, *Non-Dramatic Works*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

¹³ Shipman, *Carolina*, p. 102.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 94–104.

¹⁵ *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, p. 55.

¹ Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–1667*; Arber, *Transcript*, iv, p. 194/228.

² Jackson, *Records*, p. 305.

³ Dunn, 'Letter'.

⁴ Stationers' Company, Court Book D (University Microfilms, 'Stationers' Company's Records', reel 1), fos. 246^v, 247^v.

⁵ PRO microfilm Prob. 11/367, fos. 176^v–177^r.

⁶ McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices*, p. 41.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1641–1667*.

⁹ Plomer, *Dictionary of Bookellers 1668–1725*, entries for William and Elizabeth Crooke.

¹⁰ 'Books Printed for William Crook', appended to Hobbes, *Decameron physiologicum*.

¹¹ 'The Bookseller to the Reader', in Hobbes, *Tracts* (1682), sig. [A]4.

¹² Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers 1668–1725*.

¹ Letter 27.

² BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 193–266.

³ On Hobbes's reaction to the *Dioptrique* see Brandt, *Hobbes's Mechanical Conception*, pp. 93–9, 137–42; Bernhardt, 'La Polémique de Hobbes'; and Zarka, 'Hobbes lecteur de la dioptrique'.

⁴ Chatsworth MS Hobbes C.i.6: letters 129 and 138 in A&T (ii, pp. 222–45, 307–38).

⁵ BL MS Harl. 6796 fos, 178–92^r; 267–90; 155–61: see de Waard, 'Un écrit de Beaugrand'.

⁶ A&T vii, pp. 171–96; *OL* v, pp. 249–74.

⁷ 'ie iuge que son auteur est le mesme que celuy qui a fait les troisiémes objections contre mes Meditations, & que ie le trouue beaucoup plus habile en Morale qu'en Metaphysique ny en Physique; nonobstant que ie ne puisse aucunement approuuer ses principes ny ses maximes, qui sont tres-mauuaises & tres-dangereuses, en ce qu'il suppose tous les hommes méchants, ou qu'il leur donne suiet de l'estre' (A&T iv, p. 67): the letter is undated, but assigned by the editors to 1643.

⁸ Halliwell, *Collection of Letters*, p. 84.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁰ Hervey, 'Hobbes and Descartes', p. 77.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹² Letter 40.

¹³ Hervey, 'Hobbes and Descartes', p. 84; *ABL* i, p. 366.

¹⁴ 'respondit circa Moralia se nihil vnquam editurum': BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 49^v.

¹⁵ BN MS f.fr. 3930, fo. 262^v.

¹⁶ *ABL* i, p. 367. Descartes's argument that his theory of the nature of substance was compatible with the doctrine of transubstantiation appeared in his reply to the fourth set of objections to the *Meditationes*: A&T vii, pp. 248–56, See also the discussion of his position in Specht, *Innovation und Folgelast*, pp. 84–91.

¹ Bligh, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 75.

² See Letter 16 n. 3 (Warner) and the Biographical Register, 'Payne'.

³ BL MS Add. 38175, fo. 61^r; see also Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 158.

⁴ BL MS Add. 41846, fos. 118–41.

⁵ See Digby, *Viaggio piratesco*.

⁶ BL MS Harl. 6758; see the introduction to the edition of this work by Gabrieli, p. xvii.

⁷ Bligh, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 166.

⁸ *ABL* i, p. 226.

⁹ Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 337 n.

¹⁰ Bligh, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 235.

¹¹ The 1634 list of Digby's medieval MSS, preserved at Chatsworth and previously attributed to Hobbes (Chatsworth MS Hobbes E. 1) is in the hand of Robert Payne (see the Biographical Register, 'Payne', n. 20), and thus cannot be used as evidence of direct contacts between Digby and Hobbes.

¹² See the Biographical Register, 'du Bosc'.

¹³ Digby certainly knew Mersenne before the end of his 1635–7 stay in Paris: see *MC* vit, p. 312.

¹⁴ Gabrieli, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, pp. 174–5; Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, pp. 161–3.

¹⁵ See Des Maizeaux, *Life of Chillingworth*, p. 42; cf. *MC* ix, p. 122. The friendship between White and Digby can be traced back at least as far as 1637: see J. Henry, 'Atomism and Eschatology', p. 217.

¹⁶ *Observations upon Religio Medici* (1643).

¹⁷ 'Domino Kenhelmo Digby, genere, virtutibus, scientia et factis clarissimo in signum obsequii ab Authore. Tho. Hobbes' (see Hobbes, *Anti-White*, p. 21 n.). The volume is in the Bibliothèque des universités de Paris at the Sorbonne (pressmark R III 15), but the leaf containing this inscription was unfortunately removed during a recent rebinding.

¹⁸ Hobbes, *Anti-White*, p. 21.

¹⁹ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 49^v.

²⁰ Lupoli, 'La filosofia politica di White', p. 130 n.

²¹ Letter 170.

²² Sir John Finch, Journal: HMC, *Finch*, p. 61.

²³ See Letters 115 and 121, which indicate that he was in Bordeaux for two months in Jan.–Mar. 1657.

²⁴ Digby, *Discours de la poudre de sympathie*; see also King, *Road to Medical Enlightenment*, pp. 140–50.

²⁵ BL MS Add. 41846, fos. 76–9.

²⁶ Wallis, *Commercium epistolium*, p. 11.

²⁷ Digby, *A Discourse concerning the Vegetation of Plants*; Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 164–5.

²⁸ *DNB*.

²⁹ *Athenae*, iii, cols. 1247–8, Nor do the dates fit: Hobbes became an octogenarian in 1668, and White in 1673.

³⁰ *Journal des voyages*, ii, pp. 11, 25, 33.

³¹ *Six Lessons*, p. 58 (*EW* vii, pp. 340–1).

³² Wallis, *Commercium epistolicum*, p. 11.

¹ Gilles, 'Fermat magistrat'.

² e.g. *OC* v, p. 54; *Biographie toulousaine*.

³ Fermat, *Œuvres*, iv, p. 22 n.

⁴ Letter 127.

⁵ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 144–6: [22 Dec./] 1 Jan. 1658. A letter from Sorbière to Fermat is in *ibid.*, part 1, fo. 501: [5/] 15 Sept. 1668.

⁶ *Dissertationes tres*, pp. 99–103.

⁷ Mahoney, *Mathematical Career of Fermat*, pp. 16–17.

⁸ OC v, pp. 54–5.

⁹ OC, vi, pp. 446–7.

¹⁰ *Dissertationes tres*, pp. 69–97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹² *Traité de la chasse, composés par Arrian et Oppian*.

¹ The precise chronology is disputed: see Rochot, 'Gassendi: la vie, le caractère', p. 13; H. Jones's introduction to Gassendi, *Institutio logica*, p. ix; and *DSB*.

² See Rochot's account of the suppression of bk. 2 in his introduction to Gassendi, *Exercitationes paradoxicae*, pp. viii–ix; Rochot gives a different account, however, in *Les Travaux de Gassendi*, pp. 9–25.

³ H. Jones, *Pierre Gassendi*, pp. 25–6.

⁴ 'in retundendis larvis': introduction to Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, i, sig. ****4^r.

⁵ 'neque [...] scriptorem agnosco, qui hoc argumentum scrutetur, quàm ille, profundius': BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 79^r, printed in Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, i, p. 249B and *HW* ii, p. 85.

⁶ Pintard, *La Mathe le Vayer*, p. 37.

⁷ Letter 105.

⁸ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, i, sig. *****2^r.

¹ *Desiderata curiosa*, i, bk. 6, p. 24.

² *EW* vii, p. 454 n.

³ [Edinburgh University,] *Catalogue*, p. 39.

⁴ Foster.

⁵ Account of payments, loosely inserted in Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 28.

¹ i, sig. i3^v.

² 'Ce Monsieur Guisoni dont vous me demandez d'être informé n'est point particulièrement connu de moy. Je scay seulement qu'il est de Prouence, et que c'est vn Genie propre aux Speculations Physiques. Il fit vn jour ches Monsieur de Monmor vn Discours de la vegetation [...] qui plut fort et qui parut fort sensé' (HOC ii, p. 468).

³ Ibid., ii, p. 453 n.

⁴ Ibid., ii, p. 514.

⁵ Ibid., iii, pp. 45–9: from Rome, [15/] 23 March 1660.

⁶ 'fû Monsieur Gassendj mon bon ami' (Ibid., iii, p. 101).

⁷ Ibid., iii, pp. 101–3, 116–18, 141–4.

⁸ Ibid., iii, p. 143. Huygens complied (Ibid., iii, p. 248).

⁹ Fabroni, *Lettere inedite*, p. 128.

¹⁰ *Epistolica dissertatio*, p. 14.

¹ Howard, *Change of Crownes*, p. 1.

² Howard, *Caroloiades*, p. 177.

³ Howard, *Change of Crownes*, p. 1.

⁴ *Diary*, viii, p. 167.

⁵ Ibid., viii, p. 168; Howard, *Change of Crownes*, p. 9.

⁶ *Poems and Essays*, pp. 39–40.

⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

¹ See Letter 43 n. 2.

² *HOC* i, pp. 24–95.

³ L. Huygens, *English Journal*, pp. 74–5.

⁴ *HOC* i, p. 176.

⁵ *HOC* i, p. 182.

⁶ *HOC* i, pp. 352, 392 (where Huygens calls it 'Hobbij Philosophia nova', and the editors misidentify it as *Six Lessons*).

⁷ 'te miror eum dignum judicasse quem tam prolixè refelleres' (*HOC* i, p. 392).

⁸ 'De ratiociniis in ludo aleae', in van Schooten, *Exercitationum libri quinque*, pp. 521–34.

⁹ See Letter 81 n. 6.

¹⁰ 'rien de solide'; 'il y a long temps qu'en matiere de Géometrie Monsieur Hobbes a perdu tout credit aupres de moy' (*HOC* iii, p. 384).

¹¹ See Letter 149 and Letter 156 n. 3.

¹² *HOC* iv, p. 280.

¹³ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 184, 186.

¹⁴ Jusserand, *A French Ambassador*, p. 60.

¹⁵ See Letters 156, 162, and Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, p. 44.

¹⁶ *Horologium oscillatorium*.

¹⁷ Huygens's work *Traité de la lumière* was not published till 1690.

¹⁸ *Κκοσμοθεωρός*, 1698.

¹ College of Arms MS 4 D 14, pp. 89–103.

² NUL MS Clifton C 312.

³ NUL MS Clifton C 307.

⁴ College of Arms MS 4 D 14, p. 99.

⁵ NRO M 462, ii (transcript of Archdeaconry Court of Nottingham proceedings), fo. 260.

⁶ Blagg and Wadsworth (eds.), *Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences*, i, p. 137.

⁷ Ibid., p. 180; Squibb (ed.), *Visitation of Nottinghamshire*, p. 117.

⁸ Venn & Venn.

⁹ NUL MS Clifton C 316.

¹⁰ NUL MS Clifton D 1469.

¹¹ Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, iii, p. 35.

¹² Venn & Venn.

¹³ NUL MS Clifton D 1503.

¹ Couturat, *La Logique de Leibniz*, p. 467.

² Moll, *Der junge Leibniz*, i, pp. 42–59.

³ Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ser. 6, i, pp. 21–41 (notes on Stahl, *Compendium metaphysicae*), esp. pp. 22, 25; *ibid.*, pp. 42–67 (notes on Thomasius, *Philosophia practica*), esp. pp. 60, 67.

⁴ Aiton, *Leibniz*, pp. 21–2.

⁵ 'Profundissimus principiorum in omnibus rebus scrutator Th. Hobbes meritò posuit omne opus mentis nostrae esse computationem' (*Sämtliche Schriften*, ser. 6, i, p. 194).

⁶ *Ibid.*, ser. 6, i, pp. 432, 447, 453.

⁷ 'subtilitate sua pene divina' (*ibid.*, ser. 1, i, p. 89 (6/16 Apr. 1670); also p. 108 (11/21 Dec. 1670)).

⁸ J. E. Hofmann, *Leibniz in Paris*, p. 7 n.

⁹ Christie's (New York) sale catalogue for 16–17 Dec. 1983, lot 495.

¹⁰ Bernstein, 'Conatus, Hobbes and the Young Leibniz', p. 27.

¹ Tournier, *Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, p. 224 n.

² ADTG MS II E 757.

³ See de France, *Le Temple neuf*, pp. 39–41.

⁴ Tournier, *Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, p. 223.

⁵ ADTG MS II E 757, liasse, 'Transaction entre les prétens faits à l'héredité d'André Martel', fo. 2^r.

⁶ Tournier, *Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, pp. 224 n., 329 n., 313 n.; Letter 67 n. 3.

⁷ Boné, *Plaidoyers*, part 2, pp. 207–65.

⁸ Ibid., part 2, p. 216.

⁹ ADTG MS II E 757.

¹⁰ ADTG MS II E 765.

¹¹ ADTG MS II E 757.

¹² Tournier says this, but without giving any source (*Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, p. 224 n.).

¹³ ADTG MS 12 GG 12–19, for the years 1607–34; an Aymery Martel, son of the avocat Jean, was baptized in 1622 (MS 12 GG 16, fo. 167^v), but probably died in infancy.

¹⁴ ADT MS 2E 65/15 (i).

¹⁵ This supposition is strengthened by du Verdus's remark that he wished to regard de Martel as an elder brother (Letter 84); du Verdus was born in 1621.

¹⁶ BSHPF MS 397/1-2.

¹⁷ 'Civitatis Castrensis': ADTG MS II E 756, unnumbered items. I have been unable to discover what relation this de Carcavi was to the mathematician Pierre de Carcavi, whose family was originally from Cahors (see Henry, 'Pierre de Carcavy', p. 317).

¹⁸ See Letter 78, pp. 253, 262.

¹⁹ AN MS TT 255, item XL, p. 865.

²⁰ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 332.

²¹ LUL MS lat. 279, fo. 41.

²² BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 48: [5/] 15 Sept. 1642.

²³ Ibid., part 2, fo. 53^r: [8/] 18 Oct. 1642.

²⁴ Ibid., part 2, fo. 53v: [29 Oct./] 8 Nov. 1642.

²⁵ Ibid., part 2, fo. 61: [10/] 20 June 1643.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., part 1, fo. 56v.

²⁸ Ibid., part 2, fo. 62^v: [20/] 30 June 1643.

²⁹ Ibid., part 2, fo. 69v: Bornius to Sorbière, [20/] 30 Oct. 1644.

³⁰ MC xii, pp. 305-6, 345.

³¹ 'praeclarus ille Juvenis, tuique amans' (*Disquisitio metaphysica*, p. 3).

³² 'officiosissimus Martellus, iuuenis sanè omnibus nobis merito magno carissimus' (Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, vi, p. 174B).

³³ MC xii, pp. 360-1.

³⁴ Letter 40.

³⁵ Letter 44.

³⁶ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 106^v.

³⁷ Ibid., part 1, fo. 113^r.

³⁸ MC xv, p. 524.

³⁹ MC xvi, p. 303.

⁴⁰ MC xvi, p. 436.

⁴¹ See the Biographical Register, 'du Verdus'.

⁴² Letter 69; Patin, *Lettres*, ii, pp. 593–4.

⁴³ Devic et al., *Histoire de Languedoc*, xiii, p. 134; Beik, *Absolutism and Society*, p. 137.

⁴⁴ Beik, *Absolutism and Society*, p. 138.

⁴⁵ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 235^r.

⁴⁶ *Mémoires*, part 1, p. 199.

⁴⁷ De Marolles, *Suite des mémoires*, pp. 53–79: Sorbière is 'Aléthophile' and de Martel is 'Philotime' (see the list of contents and p. 142).

⁴⁸ Letter 117.

⁴⁹ Letter 137.

⁵⁰ OC i, pp. 224–31.

⁵¹ Letter 67 n. 3.

⁵² Barbaza, *L'Académie de Castres*, pp. 38–64.

⁵³ OC i, p. 225.

⁵⁴ OC i, pp. 389, 402.

⁵⁵ OC ii, pp. 75–6.

⁵⁶ *Itinerarium*, iii, pp. 268–80 (notes taken on [19/] 29 Feb. 1664).

⁵⁷ Ibid., iii, p. 144.

⁵⁸ Ibid., e.g. iii, pp. 166, 172.

⁵⁹ Ibid., iii, pp. 380–2.

⁶⁰ Ibid., iv, pp. 235–63.

⁶¹ Ibid., iii, pp. 383–4.

⁶² *Itinerarium*, iv, p. 275.

⁶³ OC ii, p. 458.

⁶⁴ 'accablé d'affaires faschantes' (OC v, p. 480).

⁶⁵ OC v, p. 481; vi, p. 330; Letter 145 n. 2.

⁶⁶ 'An Extract of a Letter written by Monsieur de Martel', *Philosophical Transactions*, 5/58 (25 Apr. 1670), pp. 1179–84.

⁶⁷ 'divers Voyages', 'diverses fascheuses distractions' (OC vi, pp. 326, 330).

⁶⁸ ADTG MS C 356, fo. 343^r.

⁶⁹ His name is absent from the statements of appointments to offices in the local Cour des aides for this period (ADTG MS B 1).

⁷⁰ ADTG MS C 309, fo. 1^r.

⁷¹ Ibid., fo. 100^r.

⁷² Contained in AN MS TT 255.

⁷³ Ibid., item XLI.

⁷⁴ AN MS TT 254, pp. 620–1.

⁷⁵ ADTG MSS 12 GG 50–4.

⁷⁶ *La France protestante*, 1st edn., entry for André Martel.

⁷⁷ Minet and Minet (eds.), *Livre des tesmoignages*, p. 191.

⁷⁸ *Les Montalbanaïs et le refuge*, p. 366 n.

⁷⁹ *Les Réfugiés du pays castrais*, p. 224 n.

⁸⁰ Above, n. 74.

¹ Drake, *Hasted's Kent*, part i, p. 81 n.

² Venn & Venn.

³ Foster (Venn & Venn incorrectly identify this William Cavendish as the future Earl of Newcastle).

⁴ Foster.

⁵ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 29, p. 38, entry following an entry for 23 Nov. [/3 Dec.]: 'To Hobbes by my Lo: appointment to pay in p[ar]te for a Coach to fetch M^r W^m Cauendishe from Cambridge xxs'.

⁶ Venn & Venn.

⁷ CUL MS Mm. 1. 38, p. 270.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *DNB* (at the end of the entry on another Robert Mason, 1571–1635).

¹² Drake, *Hasted's Kent*, part 1, p. 81 n.

¹³ Ibid.; Venn & Venn.

¹⁴ *CSPD* 1635, p. 319.

¹⁵ *CSPD* 1636–7, p. 177.

¹⁶ Drake, *Hasted's Kent*, part 1, p. 81 n.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹ PRO SP 23/215/41.

² Foster.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Angliae notitia*, p. 254.

⁵ *CSPD* 1637–8, p. 173.

⁶ PRO SP 23/215/41.

⁷ [Charles I,] *The King's Cabinet opened*, pp. 3–4.

⁸ PRO SP 23/3/92.

⁹ PRO SP 23/215/47.

¹⁰ Ibid.; SP 23/101/89; SP 23/6/140; SP 23/231/69. May received help from Bulstrode Whitelocke in negotiating his composition (Whitelocke, *Diary*, p. 240 (18 [28] June)). Whitelocke had been married to May's first cousin Rebecca Benet, who died in 1634.

¹¹ PRO SP 23/101/107.

¹² Green (ed.), *Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money*, iii, p. 1383.

¹³ Boyle, *Works*, v, pp. 274–5.

¹⁴ *CSPD* 1661–2, p. 175.

¹⁵ *CSPD* 1660–1, p. 73.

¹⁶ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 109–11. Hugh May's career is confused with that of his cousin Baptist in the *DNB* article on the latter.

¹⁷ *CSPD* 1663–4, p. 57.

¹⁸ *CSPD* 1664–5, p. 475.

¹⁹ *CSPD* 1668–9, p. 508.

²⁰ 'Select Documents', p. 19.

²¹ *CSPD* 1663–4, p. 292. Such services were perhaps more likely to involve procuring than espionage.

²² *CSPD* 1670, p. 195; a fee of 3s. 4d. was paid for each recognizance entered at the courts.

²³ PRO microfilm Prob. 6/45, fo. 93^r.

¹ Hibbert, *Rise and Fall of the Medici*, p. 287.

² Acton, *The Last Medici*, p. 84.

³ Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo*, pp. 45–6, 53, 67.

⁴ Sanchez Rivero and Mariutti de Sanchez Rivero, *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis*, pp. 26, 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 317–19.

⁶ Magalotti, *Un principe in Inghilterra*, p. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 59–62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁹ *Diary*, ix, p. 515.

¹⁰ Magalotti, *Un principe in Inghilterra*, pp. 79–91, 97–110; Raab, *English Face of Machiavelli*, pp. 218–20.

- ¹¹ Magalotti, *Un principe in Inghilterra*, p. 141.
- ¹² Letter 187.
- ¹³ Magalotti, *Un principe in Inghilterra*, p. 237.
- ¹⁴ Hibbert, *Rise and Fall of the Medici*, p. 296.
- ¹⁵ Crinò, *Fatti e figure del seicento*, pp. 215, 222.
- ¹⁶ Berkshire Record Office, MS D/EN F8/2, letters 12–43.
- ¹⁷ Hibbert, *Rise and Fall of the Medici*, pp. 297–8; Acton, *The Last Medici*, pp. 140–1.
- ¹⁸ Hibbert, *Rise and Fall of the Medici*, p. 297; Acton, *The Last Medici*, p. 141.
- ¹ MC xvii, p. 17.
- ² Lenoble, *Mersenne*, p. 17.
- ³ Ibid., p. 38.
- ⁴ Hobbes himself later referred to a discussion with Mersenne and de Beaugrand, in Mersenne's convent, which took place in 1634: see Letter 34.
- ⁵ BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 317–39; see the Biographical Register, 'Payne'.
- ⁶ *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, p. 5 (OL i, pp. xiv–xv).
- ⁷ See my discussion of this missing letter in the Introduction, pp. lii–lv.
- ⁸ Hobbes, *Anti-White*, pp. 44–5.
- ⁹ *Cogitata*, pp. 74–82.
- ¹⁰ *Universae geometriae synopsis*, pp. 567–89.
- ¹¹ Ibid., pp. 472–5.

¹² 'in omni genere Philosophiae versatissimo, viróque optimo' (*Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, p. 5 (*OL* i, p. xiv)); 'doctos, sapiens, egregièque bonus' (*Thomae Hobbesii malmes-buriensis vita*, p. 7; *OL* i, p. xci has a different wording here, using the revision by Robert Blackbourne).

¹³ *MC* xiii, pp. 216–18, 530.

¹⁴ *Thomae Hobbes angli vita*, p. 9 (*OL* i, p. xvi).

¹⁵ *ABL* i, pp. 357–8.

¹ Combes, *Particularités historiques*, p. 63.

² Evelyn, *Diary*, ii, p. 527.

³ Nayral, *Biographie castraise*, ii, p. 491.

⁴ Svendsen, 'Milton and More', p. 799.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 800; A. Bruce, *Life of Morus*, p. 19.

⁶ See the Biographical Register, 'Sorbière'.

⁷ A. Bruce, *Life of Morus*, p. 30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–77.

⁹ Svendsen, 'Milton and More', p. 799.

¹⁰ Morus, *Fides publica*, pp. 185–6.

¹¹ Milton, *Prose Works*, viii, pp. 565–70; D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv, pp. 461–75. Aubrey was told by Abraham Hill that the Dutch Ambassador informed Milton of the true authorship of the anonymous work before Milton's reply was printed: the poet's response was that 'Well, that was all one; he having writt it, it should goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other' (*ABL* ii, p. 69).

¹² A. Bruce, *Life of Morus*, p. 207.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245–7.

¹⁴ *Diary*, iii, pp. 310–11.

¹⁵ He was in Paris by June (D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, vi, p. 422).

¹⁶ A. Bruce, *Life of Morus*, pp. 264–5; see Letter 159 n. 5.

¹⁷ Nayral, *Biographie castraise*, ii, p. 507; Morus, *Fragmens des sermons*, pp. 415, 461–3.

¹ *MC* x, p. 762; xiii, p. 376.

² *MC* xiii, p. 350.

³ *MC* xiii, pp. 377–80.

⁴ P. Petit, *Observationes aliquot eclipsium*, p. 12.

⁵ *HOC* i, p. 514.

⁶ 'de visiter roes registres et d'y auoir [recours?] pour vous enuoyer des propositions de dix ou douze ans que vous n'ayez pas encor veues' (*HOC* i, p. 376, [25 Jan./] 4 Feb. 1656).

⁷ *HOC* i, pp. 391, 400, 418, 426.

⁸ *HOC* i, pp. 405, 439.

⁹ *HOC* i, pp. 439–40.

¹⁰ *HOC* ii, pp. 337–8, 335–6.

¹¹ *DSB*.

¹² *HOC* iii, pp. 17–18.

¹ *OC* i, p. xxx.

² *Fasti*, part 2, col, 197.

³ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 14, p. 17.

⁴ *English Journal*, p. 151.

⁵ OC i, pp. 63, 73.

⁶ 'sermonem nostrum exteris omnibus, quos ego quidem novi, accuratius ac foelicius addidiceris' (OC i, pp. 33–4).

⁷ OC i, p. 73.

⁸ OC i, p. xxxv.

⁹ Letter 73.

¹⁰ *Fasti*, part 2, col. 197.

¹¹ OC i, p. 225.

¹² OC i, p. xxxviii; Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage*, p. 73; Biographical Register, 'de Martel'.

¹³ Bluhm, 'Oldenburg', p. 184.

¹⁴ Hunter, *Royal Society*, p. 166.

¹⁵ See the Biographical Register, 'Williamson'.

¹⁶ OC vi, pp. 458, 460.

¹ Greenslade, 'Falkland Circle', p. 155.

² PRO microfilm Prob, 11/219, fo. 157r.

³ Foster.

⁴ Bodl. MSS University College 47–9: these include transcripts of the 'Communia naturalia' and Tractatus de speciebus' (MS 48) and the 'Mathematica' (MS 49, fos. 109–56).

⁵ *Academiae oxoniensis funebria sacra*, sig. F1^r.

⁶ Maclean, *History of Pembroke*, p. 200.

⁷ Preston, *Church of st Nicholas, Abingdon*, pp. 445–9.

⁸ Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 75.

⁹ Bodl. MS Douce f. 5, fo, 6^v.

¹⁰ Foster.

¹¹ BL MS Add. 70499, fo. 68^r.

¹² Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 175.

¹³ 'Ex dono nobilissimi Equiti Caroli Cauendysshe Decemb. 18 1631': Bodl. Savile O 9.

¹⁴ BL MS Add, 70499, fo. 68^r.

¹⁵ 'His Excellency the Lord Marquis of Newcastle His Opinion concerning the Ground of Natural Philosophy', in Margaret Cavendish, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, p. 461.

¹⁶ BL MS Harl. 4955, fo. 203^r: printed in Jonson, *Works*, i, p. 212.

¹⁷ Printed in Halliwell (ed.), *Collection of Letters*, pp. 65, 67–9, The letter printed on pp. 65–6 (from BL MS Add, 4279, fo. 182) is misidentified by Halliwell as a letter from Payne to Warner; it can be shown, on internal evidence, that it was from Payne to John Pell. An undated letter on vision by Warner, BL MS Add. 4395, fos. 116–18, has also been misidentified as a letter to Payne (Kargon, *Atomism*, p. 36); it can be shown, also on internal evidence, that this letter was from Warner to Sir Charles Cavendish.

¹⁸ Halliwell (ed.), *Collection of Letters*, p. 65.

¹⁹ Chatsworth, MS Hobbes E. 2: printed in Pacchi, 'Una "biblioteca ideale" di Hobbes'.

²⁰ Chatsworth, MS Hobbes E, 1: printed in Pacchi, 'Ruggero Bacone e Roberto Grossatesta'.

²¹ BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 297–308; printed (ed. Tönnies) in Hobbes, *Elements of Law*, pp. 297–308, and (ed. Bernhardt) in Hobbes, *Court traité des premiers principes*, pp. 12–56.

²² Tuck, 'Hobbes and Descartes', pp. 17–18. Unfortunately, Tuck has cited in corroboration of the identification of Payne's hand the letters from Payne to Sheldon in BL MS Add. 4162: these are not in Payne's hand, but transcripts in the hand of Thomas Birch.

²³ BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 309–16.

²⁴ Ibid., fos. 317–39. This and the previous MS are discussed in Jacquot, 'Sir Charles Cavendish and Ms Learned Friends'; cf. also Jacquot's introduction to Hobbes, *Anti-White*, p. 14 n.

²⁵ Cavendish, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, p. 463.

²⁶ Strong, *Catalogue*, pp. 55, 237–40: this work, also hitherto attributed to Hobbes, is in Payne's hand.

²⁷ Madan (ed.), 'Robert Burton', p. 219.

²⁸ 'Ex dono authoris' (Kiessling, *Library of Robert Burton*, pp. 134, 302–3).

²⁹ Bodl. Savile Q 9: the letter is tipped in at p. 134.

³⁰ BL MS Harl. 6942, no. 126: 'y^e Originall MS. w^{ch} I lent you, in Oxf.'

³¹ Foster.

³² Tyacke, 'Science and Religion at Oxford', p. 59, referring to Christ Church Donors' Book, fo. 94.

³³ Letters contained in BL MSS Harl. 6942, Lansdowne 93, Lansdowne 841: printed in 'Illustrations of the State of the Church'.

³⁴ BL MS Harl. 6942, no. 126: printed in 'Illustrations of the State of the Church', p. 171.

³⁵ PRO microfilm Prob. 11/219, fo. 157^r; Preston, *Church of St Nicholas, Abingdon*, p. 111.

³⁶ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 176.

³⁷ BL MS Harl 6942, fo. 151r; no such bequest features in Payne's will, however.

³⁸ Bodl. Savile O 9.

¹ Meller, *Armorial*, iii, p. 103.

² See le Vacher de Boisvilie (ed.), *Livre des bourgeois*, sect, 1, p. 122.

³ ADG MS C 3833; le Vacher de Boisville gives May 1648 for this appointment ('Liste des membres du parlement', p. 48). For Arnaud's relation to Jean, see le Vacher de Boisville (ed.), *Livre des bourgeois*, sect, 1, p. 122.

⁴ AN MC ET/LXXIII/347, for 10 Sept. 1637.

⁵ Westrich, *Ormée*, p. 150.

⁶ 'Tous gens séditioneux' (Kötting, *Die Ormée*, pp. 95, 97).

⁷ 'vn Jeune garçon' (Letter 93).

⁸ Letter 85.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Letter 90.

¹¹ 'Collationné par moy Conseiller du Roy Audiencier de la Chancellerie de Bordeaux, Secretaire de sa Majesté, PLEAV.'

¹² Meller, *État-civil*, p. 251.

¹³ ADG MS 3 E 12995, fo. 903v.

¹⁴ ADG, Parlement de Bordeaux, 'chambres diverses', 19–28 Sept. 1672, file for 24–5 Sept., fo. 24.

¹⁵ ADG, Parlement de Bordeaux, 'arrêts', 1–18 Aug. 1672, file for 9–10 Aug.

¹⁶ ADG MS C 2326, fo. 66^r.

¹⁷ ADG MS 1 B 33, fo. 54^r.

¹ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 333.

² Sorbière, *Relations, lettres*, p. 301.

³ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 23–5.

⁴ Patin, *Lettres*, ii, p. 44.

⁵ MC xii, p. 36.

⁶ MC xi, p. 171.

⁷ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, vi, p. 481.

⁸ Ibid., vi, p. 204.

⁹ Bartholin, *Epistolarum centuriae*, i, p. 316.

¹⁰ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 89^v–90^r. The most distinguished member of that family, Jan Wolfert van Brederode (1599–1655), married Anna, sister of Count William of Nassau, and was field-marshal of the Dutch army.

¹¹ Ibid., part 1, fo. 90^r.

¹² Letters 44, 48.

¹³ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 107^v–9.

¹⁴ The dedicatory epistle is dated [5/] 15 October, and the work was published in 1648.

¹⁵ BN MS f.l. n.a. 1637, fo. 166^r.

¹⁶ Patin, *Lettres*, i, pp. 511–12; ii, p. 44.

¹⁷ LUL MS BPL 302, fo. 303^v. On Moreau see Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 158, 166.

¹⁸ BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 28–49, 57–80.

¹⁹ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, i, sig. ii^v.

²⁰ Sorbiere, *Relations, lettres*, p. 314.

²¹ Letter 133.

²² 'le plein & la fraction indefinie de la matiere estant plus à son vsage que le Vuide & les Atomes' (Sorbière, *Relations, lettres*, pp. 312–13).

²³ Bartholin, *Epistolarum centuriae*, i, pp. 315–16.

²⁴ Sorbière, *Viro clarissimo Pecqueto*, p. 6.

²⁵ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 96^r.

²⁶ BL MS Harl. 1702.

²⁷ 'Livres prestés: A M^r Sorbière, leuiathan' (ibid., fo. 1^v).

²⁸ Sorbière, *Relations, lettres*, p. 301.

²⁹ Haag (ed.), *La France protestante*, 2nd edn.

¹ Haag (ed.), *La France protestante*, 2nd edn.

² MC xi, p. 172; a copy of his account of his travels, in Abraham's handwriting, is in BL MS Harl. 6796, fos. 43^v–6.

³ Haag (ed.), *La France protestante*, 2nd edn.

⁴ *Relation d'un voyage*, p. 174.

⁵ BL MS Harl. 6750, fo. 213^v.

⁶ Ibid., fos. 111^r, 98^v.

⁷ Ibid., fo. 153^r.

⁸ BL MS Harl. 1589, fo. 3^v.

⁹ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, vi, p. 533.

¹⁰ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 14, entries for May 1657.

¹¹ Letter 144.

¹² 'Il auoit desia veu presque toute l'Europe avec Mylord Candisch' (*Relation d'un voyage*, p. 174).

- ¹³ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 33, p. 118.
- ¹⁴ Letter 142.
- ¹⁵ Letter 144.
- ¹⁶ Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage*, pp. 174–5.
- ¹⁷ BL MS Harl. 1595.
- ¹⁸ Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage*, p. 174; Guilloton, 'Autour de la Relation', pp. 27–8.
- ¹⁹ Letter 155.
- ²⁰ Harris, *Life of Sandwich*, i, p. 235.
- ²¹ Letter 158.
- ²² Bodl. MS Carte 223, fos. 77–8.
- ²³ Bodl. MS Carte 223, fo. 67.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 87^r.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 94^r; Letter 168.
- ²⁶ Bodl. MS Carte 223, fos. 90–100.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, fos. 98–9; Lomas (ed.), 'Memoirs of Courthop', p. 151.
- ²⁸ *Diary*, viii, p. 276.
- ²⁹ Harris, *Life of Sandwich*, ii, p. 173.
- ³⁰ Bodl. MS Carte 223, fos. 101, 107–8.
- ³¹ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 16, entry for that date.
- ³² Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 36, entry for that date.

³³ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 16, half-yearly wage payments for that period.

³⁴ Chatsworth, MS Hardwick 19, entry for that date.

³⁵ Letter 158.

³⁶ BL MS Harl. 6750, fo. 153^r.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 251.

³⁸ BL MS Harl. 1595, fos. 28–30.

³⁹ BL MS Sloane 939, fos. 76^v, 12^r, 25^r.

⁴⁰ Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization*, p. 226.

¹ Foster.

² *Ibid.*; Hamilton, *Hertford College*, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴ A. Wood, *Life and Times*, i, p. 415. In the following year Wilkinson was ejected, to be replaced by Dr James Hyde.

⁵ *Athenae*, iii, col. 626.

⁶ Foster.

⁷ For a detailed description of a medieval English devotional manuscript owned by Pullen (and acquired or inherited by him from Thomas Barlow), see Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, ii, pp. 375–7.

⁸ Hamilton, *Hertford College*, p. 123.

⁹ *Remarks and Collections*, v, p. 8. Foster gives his age as 81.

¹ Foster asserts this, though *DNB* says there is no record of him in the Middle Temple register.

² [Cokayne,] *Complete Peerage*.

³ Laud's letters to Scudamore, 1622–8, are printed in Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*, pp. 437–56.

⁴ Lewin, *Lord Scudamore*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9; Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*, pp. 95–6.

⁶ BL MS Add. 35097 and 45142.

⁷ Masson, *Life of Milton*, i, p. 700.

⁸ Lewin, *Lord Scudamore*, p. 12.

⁹ Milton, *Prose Works*, iv, p. 615.

¹ Venn & Venn.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, pp. 119–20.

⁵ Shipman, *Carolina*, sig. A7^r.

⁶ Godfrey, *Shipman*, p. 4.

⁷ *Carolina*, p. 217.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹ Godfrey, *Four Nottinghamshire Dramatists*, pp. 6–8.

¹ Jongmans *et al.*, *Les Sluse*, pp. 17–19.

² See le Paige, 'Correspondance', p. 445.

³ Jongmans *et al.*, *Les Sluse*, p. 47.

⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵ A small selection of his letters is published in le Paige, 'Correspondance'. A full listing is given in Bernés and Lefebvre, 'La Correspondance'.

⁶ *HOC* ii, p. 36 n.

⁷ Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage*, pp. 229–30, describing his visit to de Sluse and praising his wisdom and good nature.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 230–1.

⁹ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 190^r: de Sluse to Sorbière, [27 May/] 6 June 1664.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, part 1, fo. 360^v: Sorbière to de Sluse, [25 Jan./] 4 Feb, 1665.

¹¹ Letter 165, enclosure.

¹² 'Exprimere verbis non possum, quo animi sensu Clar.^{mi} Hobbij Epistolam legerim [...]. Virum enim alioqui doctissimum non excellere in Mathematicis satis agnoueram, sed adeo ἀγεωμέτρητον esse nunquam mihi persuasissem' (BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 180^v: [18/] 28 Jan. 1664).

¹³ Ibid., part 1, fo. 331^r: [2/] 12 Feb. 1664.

¹⁴ 'Scriptiunculam ab Hobbio super hac re recens editam expecto' (*ibid.*, part 1, fo. 354^r).

¹⁵ 'Scriptiunculam Clar.^{mi} Hobbij non vidi, et dolerem si me rursús ad respondendum prouocaret' (*ibid.*, part 2, fo. 194^v: [17/] 27 Oct. 1664).

¹⁶ *HOC* v, pp. 131–4.

¹⁷ *HOC* v, pp. 175, 196, 225, 235.

¹⁸ *OC* iii, pp. 338–9.

¹⁹ De Sluse, 'An Extract of a Letter'.

²⁰ De Sluse, 'Excerpta'; also in *OC* ix, pp. 218–21.

²¹ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 214, 155.

²² Jongmans *et al.*, *Les Sluse*, pp. 69–109.

²³ Le Laboureur, *Avantages de la langue françoise*, 2nd edn.

¹ Not 1610, as some previous writers have thought (see Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 334, 627).

² BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 11^v.

³ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 335.

⁴ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 13–17.

⁵ Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 335, 627. They were corresponding as early as [June/] July 1639 (BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fos. 1–2).

⁶ Sorbière, *Discours sur sa conversion*, p. 11.

⁷ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 336; BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 31^r.

⁸ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 337.

⁹ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fos. 41, 43.

¹⁰ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 338.

¹¹ 'Paucula quae cursiro legimus per horae quadrantem mirè animum nostrum affecere' (BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 49^r).

¹² Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 339, 628–9.

¹³ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 1, fo. 56^v.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, part 1, fos. 42^v, 63–4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, part 1, fos. 103, 112^r.

¹⁶ Blok, 'Drie brieven', p. 4.

¹⁷ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 339.

¹⁸ LUL MS BPL 302, fo. 285^v, [2/] 12 Sept. 1644: 'je m'occupe tout entier aux estudes de Medecine, & de la langue Flamande'.

¹⁹ Pintard, *Libertinage*, pp. 339–40, 342, 629; BN MS f.fr. 3930, fos, 236–7.

²⁰ LUL MS BPL 885: to Justus Ryckwaert, [27 Jan./] 6 Feb. 1646.

²¹ BN MS f.l. 10352, part 2, fo. 79^r.

²² BN MS f.ff. 2390, part 2, fo. 124^v.

²³ G. Cohen, *Écrivains français en Hollande*, p. 349.

²⁴ *Elemens philosophiques du citoyen*: the dedicatory epistle is dated [10/] 20 July 1649. Sorbière sent a copy to André Rivet (via Bornius) in Sept. 1649; in Nov. he reported that some people at The Hague were proposing to have the book banned; and later that month he received criticisms of the book from Rivet too (LUL MS BPL 302, fos. 287^r, 291^r, 293^r).

²⁵ S. Petit, *Diatriba*.

²⁶ Blok, 'Drie brieven', p. 6.

²⁷ *Les Vrayes Causes des dernières troubles d'Angleterre*.

²⁸ *Discours sur sa conversion*, p. 183.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁰ 'un des miracles de nos jours qui sont plutôt politiques et économiques que méthaphysiques' (Patin, *Lettres*, iii, pp. 24–5).

³¹ J.-P. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, iv, pp. 84, 87.

³² *Avis a un icune medecin*, pp. 75, 64–5.

³³ pp. 694–700, 60–4.

³⁴ Discussed in Blok, 'Drie brieven'.

³⁵ J.-P. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, iv, p. 87.

³⁶ 'auec son bonnet plat sur la teste, comme s'il y auoit mis son porte-feuille' (*Relation d'un voyage*, p. 100).

³⁷ Ibid., p. 97.

³⁸ Guilloton, 'Autour de la *Relation*', p. 5.

³⁹ KBK MS Thott 357 8° ('Pièces qui concernent le voyage de Sorbiere. Tirées des Archives du Departement des Affaires Etrangères à Coppenhague'), de Saulmeyer's reports of [23 June/] 3 July and [30 June/] 10 July 1064 (3rd and 4th items (unfoliated)).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 4th item (unfoliated).

⁴¹ 'cette audacieuse & imprudente Satyre' (*Arrêt du conseil d'estat*, pp. 4-5).

⁴² Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, iii, pp. 425-7.

⁴³ Ibid., iii, p. 429.

⁴⁴ J.-P. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, iv, p. 87.

⁴⁵ Ibid., iv, pp. 96-7.

⁴⁶ Blok, 'Drie brieven', p. 9.

⁴⁷ *Avis a un ieune medecin*.

⁴⁸ *Sorberiana*, p. xii².

¹ *Athenae*, iii, col. 1067.

² *Horae subsecivae and Miscellanea epigrammata*.

³ *Athenae*, iii, col. 1068.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, p. 10.

⁶ Letter 123.

⁷ Letter 104.

⁸ Cawdrey, *Independencie a Great Schism*.

⁹ *Clamor, rixa*, p. 1.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS Savile 104, fo. 1^r.

¹¹ Sig. **2^v.

¹² Madan, *Oxford Books*, iii, pp. 96–7.

¹³ p. 156.

¹⁴ Hereford and Worcester Record Office, Subscription book 1 (732.1 BA 2736), fo. 2^r.

¹⁵ Holt, *Seventeenth-Century Defender of Islam*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, pp. 46–7.

¹⁷ Stubbe, *The Miraculous Conformist*.

¹⁸ *Legends no Histories; A Censure upon certain Passages*.

¹⁹ *Campanella Revived* (1670); *A Reply unto the Letter* (1671).

²⁰ This was appended to his *Epistolary Discourse concerning Phlebotomy* (1671).

²¹ Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, pp. 65, 76.

²² Letter 201.

²³ BL MS Sloane 35.

²⁴ *ABL* i, p. 371.

¹ Foster; hence the approximate date of birth inferred here.

² *Christ Knocking at the Doore*, sig. A2^r.

³ Aylmer, *State's Servants*, pp. 63–4.

⁴ The earliest document in which he appears in this role is dated 30 Sept. [/10 Oct.] 1652; PRO SP 23/81, fo. 425^r.

⁵ PRO SP 18/96/25.

⁶ A printed copy of the Act, paginated 153–8, is PRO SP 18/41/26; here p. 157.

⁷ PRO SP 18/94/16.

⁸ PRO SP 18/71/33.

⁹ PRO SP 18/96/25.

¹⁰ *CSPD Commonwealth*, viii, p. 122.

¹¹ *Christ Knocking at the Doore*, sig. A2.

¹² *Christ Knocking at the Doore*, sig. A2^v.

¹³ *Ibid.*, sig. A3^v.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁵ Aylmer, *State's Servants*, pp. 64, 142–3.

¹⁶ Seymour, *Puritans in Ireland*, p. 171. Seymour notes that, according to documents in the Irish Public Record Office, Tanny had previously been first an Episcopalian, then a Seventh-day Baptist.

¹⁷ Nicolson (ed.), *Conway Letters*, p. 159 n.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹⁹ Berwick (ed.), *Rowdon Papers*, p. 416.

¹ Meller, *Armorial*, i, p. 134.

² AMB MS Drouyn 275, pp. 149–50.

³ See le Vacher de Boisvillie (ed.), *Livre des bourgeois*, sect. 1, p. 11.

⁴ Meller, *Armorial*, i, p. 134.

⁵ Boscheron des Portes, *Histoire du parlement de Bordeaux*, i, pp. 339–45.

⁶ ADG MS 1 B 18, fo. 180^v.

⁷ Letter 78.

⁸ ADG MS 1 B 19, fo. 321^v.

⁹ AMB MS Drouyn 275, p. 179.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 177–8, 191.

¹¹ Letter 78.

¹² Ibid.; BNC MS Gal. 151, fo. 89^v, printed in Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, p. 211; Boutruche (ed.), *Bordeaux*, pp. 408–9.

¹³ 'pour achever de s'eslever aux lettres et bonnes mœurs' (AMB MS Drouyn 275, pp. 185–6).

¹⁴ MC x, pp. 833–5.

¹⁵ MC xiii, p. 14.

¹⁶ BN MS f.fr. n.a. 5175, fos. 54–64: see the account of this MS by Alan Gabbey in MC xiii, p. 350.

¹⁷ Boncompagni, 'Intorno ad alcune lettere', p. 375; MC xiii, p. 350; the Académie's MS copy of these lectures is also annotated by Roberval: Archives de l'académie des sciences, Paris, procès-verbaux, iii, fos. 175–256.

¹⁸ Académie des sciences, *Divers ouvrages*, pp. 67–111; Roberval, *Ouvrages de mathématique*, pp. 1–70. The MS used as copy for this printing, also identified by Alan Gabbey, is Archives de l'académie des sciences, Paris, carton 5, fonds Roberval 28 (formerly

carton 8, chemise 4), This has annotations by Roberval, Mersenne, Mylon, and de La Hire (MC xiii, p. 350).

¹⁹ BNC MS Gal. 151, fo. 92^v: printed in Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, p. 182.

²⁰ 'propositionem universalem tangentium [...] vulgavimus circa annum 1636. Extant adhuc, & circumferuntur hac de re lectiones nostrae a nobilissimo D. *du Verdus* nostro discipulo collectas, atque a multis exscriptae' (Roberval, *Ouvrages de mathématique*, p. 370).

²¹ BN MS f.fr. 9119, fos. 409–64; here fo. 450^r. Again, see Alan Gabbey's comments on this MS in MC xiii, pp. 350–1. Another MS, corresponding closely to this one, is LUL MS Vossianus Gallus Q 6.

²² 'De la Teroide ou Aisle, de Mons^r hobs'; 'Voicy la façon dont Mons^r hobs se sert pour descrire cette ligne' (BN MS f.fr. 9119, fos. 451^v–3^r; here fo. 451^v).

²³ MC xiii, pp. 14, 135, 139.

²⁴ Letter 170; see the Biographical Register, 'Digby'.

²⁵ BNC MS Gal. 151, fos. 89–102, printed in Boncompagni, 'Intorno ad alcune lettere', pp. 442–56, and Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, pp. 172–321.

²⁶ BNC MS Gal. 151, fo. 92^v: Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, p. 182.

²⁷ BNC MS Gal. 151, fos. 94, 100–2: Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, pp. 184–5, 314–6, 320–1.

²⁸ Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, p. 350.

²⁹ BNC MS Gal. 151, fo. 89: Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, pp. 210–12.

³⁰ BNC MS Gal. 151, fos. 89^v, 97: Torricelli, *Opere*, iii, pp. 211, 217; MC xiii, pp. 177–81.

³¹ Pascal, *Œuvres*, ed. Brunschvicg and Boutroux, iii, p. 275; de Waard, *L'Expérience barométrique*, pp. 115–16; Beaulieu, 'Torricelli et Mersenne', pp. 44–6.

³² AMB MS Drouyn 275, p. 187.

³³ See the Biographical Register, 'de Martel'; MC xvi, pp. 303–4; cf. xiv, p. 425.

³⁴ Gabbey, 'The Bourdelot Academy', p. 93. Pierre Le Gallois included du Verdus in his list of those who had attended Bourdelot's 'academy' in Paris in the 1640s (*Conversations de l'académie*, p. 56).

³⁵ I have to disagree here with Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 356.

³⁶ Hobbes, *Six Lessons*, p. 59 (*EW* vii, p. 343). Hobbes was clearly on good terms with Roberval by Apr. 1645, when he procured a geometrical demonstration from him for John Pell (see Hervey, 'Hobbes and Descartes', p. 74).

³⁷ 'depuis mon retour d'Italie ie n'ay rien goûté come nostre pyrronisme' (*MC* xvi, p. 303).

³⁸ Pintard, *Libertinage*, p. 356.

³⁹ 'si desabusez des erreurs populaires' (de Marolles, *Mémoires*, part 1, p. 276).

⁴⁰ Letter 78 n. 16.

⁴¹ 'les autres Traductions qu'il a faites de chose de Philosophie' (Hobbes, *Elemens de la politique*, 1st edn., sig. Ff3^r).

⁴² Letter 68.

⁴³ Letters 66, 68.

⁴⁴ De Marolles, *Mémoires*, part 1, p. 199.

⁴⁵ Letter 71.

⁴⁶ Letter 67.

⁴⁷ Letter 75.

⁴⁸ Hobbes, *Elemens de la politique*, 1st edn., sig. i3^v.

⁴⁹ I have not found this 1665 edition in any French library; there is a copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, pressmark Ph. u. 256.

⁵⁰ Letter 163.

⁵¹ Desgraves, *La Vie intellectuelle*, pp. 103–6; Courteault, 'Une académie des sciences à Bordeaux'.

⁵² Courteault, 'Une académie des sciences', pp. 150–1. Courteault writes that Jean d'Espagnet attended these gatherings, but this must be an error: Jean d'Espagnet was born in 1564. The date of his death is not known; he is known to have been living in 1637, but can hardly have been active nearly thirty years later.

⁵³ ADG MS 3 E 12995, fo. 903^v.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fo. 903^v; Courteault, 'Une académie des sciences à Bordeaux', p. 151.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 15; Perrault, 'Voyage à Bordeaux', p. 193.

⁵⁶ ADG MS 3 E 12995, fo. 903^v.

⁵⁷ See le Vacher de Boisville *et al*, (eds.), *Inventaire sommaire*, iii, p. 411.

⁵⁸ ADG MS 3 E 12995, fos. 902–9.

⁵⁹ 'Dieu m'auoit donné des Amis, et Il me les a ôtés: Ils m'ont laissé: je les laisse, et n'en fais point mention' (ibid., fo. 902^v).

⁶⁰ 'Ce qu'a fait pour moy Madame Pitard [...] et ce qu'on luy a fait souffrir, à mon occasion' (ibid.).

⁶¹ 'tous mes autres Livres, avec mes Globes, et Sphères' (ibid., fo. 903^v). This legatee was possibly connected with François Peleau, whose brother married a Cathérine du Val (Meller, *État-civil*, p. 251). But Peleau himself is not mentioned in du Verdus's will.

⁶² Lopès, *L'Église metropolitaine Saint-André*, i, pp. 5–66.

⁶³ 'je les prie de voyr Eus deus seuls ces Ecrits, d'en garder ce qu'ils jugeront que puisse servir, d'en rendre en main propre a autruy ce qu'ils jugeront que j'y eusse destiné, et brûler le reste' (ADG MS 3 E 12995, fo. 903^v).

⁶⁴ 'pour obeir a la seule Personne du Monde à qui je peusse me soumettre' (ibid., fo. 904^r).

⁶⁵ ADG, Parish of Saint-Michel, summary of register, 'décès', 1654–1792, 593133.

⁶⁶ AMB MS Drouyn 275, pp. 191–2.

⁶⁷ Boscheron des Portes, *Histoire du parlement de Bordeaux*, ii, p. 233.

⁶⁸ Lopès, *L'Église métropolitaine Saint-André*, i, p. 66.

⁶⁹ 'Les Frères et sœurs du chanoine Lopès', n. 5.

⁷⁰ Robertson, *Hobbes*, p. 236 n.; Bigot, 'Une lettre inédite'.

¹ Stockdale, *Life of Waller*, p. xii.

² ABL ii, p. 275.

³ *History*, ii, p. 370.

⁴ ABL ii, p. 275.

⁵ Stockdale, *Life of Waller*, p. xlvii.

⁶ Letter 39.

⁷ ABL ii, p. 277.

⁸ OCC Evelyn correspondence, Letters to Evelyn, nos. 1340–8: a sequence of letters from Waller to Evelyn, from Rouen or Dieppe, between those dates. The claim by E. Riske ('Waller in Exile') that Waller and Evelyn were both in Italy from Jan. to Mar. 1646 must be an error.

⁹ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 168–9.

¹⁰ Waller, *Works*, p. lxxviii.

¹¹ ABL i, p. 372.

¹² Bodl. MS Aubrey 9, fo. 54^v.

¹³ Stockdale, *Life of Waller*, p. lx.

¹ Foster.

² Sainty, *Officials*, p. 117.

³ *Diary*, iv, pp. 38–9.

⁴ OC iii, p. xxvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, pp. xxviii, 444–5; McKie, 'The Arrest of Oldenburg'.

⁶ *DNB*; the date given in Millington, *Sir Joseph Williamson*, p. 11, is wrong.

⁷ *Diary*, iv, p. 35 (6 [16] Feb. 1663).

⁸ Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 178–9.

⁹ OQC MS 42, pp. 233–8, 145–9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 147, 233–8, 269–75.

¹ *Life and Times*, i, p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, i, pp. 182–3.

³ *DNB*.

⁴ *Life and Times*, i, p. 209.

⁵ Hunter, *Aubrey*, p. 73.

⁶ Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 98^r.

⁷ A. Wood, *Life and Times*, ii, p. 293.

⁸ Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 102^r.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fo. 103^r (Aubrey to Wood, 2 [12] July 1674).

¹⁰ Bodl. MS Wood F 40, fo. 188^r, printed in Bongaerts, *Correspondence of Thomas Blount*, p. 150.

¹¹ Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 110^r (Aubrey to Wood, 26 Aug. [5 Sept.] 1674).

¹² ii, sig. Pppppp, entitled 'Editor Lectori'.

¹³ Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fo. 119^r (Aubrey to Wood, 29 Aug. [/8 Sept.] 1676).

¹⁴ Bodl. MS Wood F 40, fos. 79^v–80, printed in Pritchard, 'Last Days of Hobbes', pp. 183–4.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS Ballard 14, fos. 124^v–31^r.

¹⁶ Ibid., fo. 131^r.



Oxford Scholarly Editions Online

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Noel Malcolm (ed.), The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes, Vol. 7: The Correspondence, Vol. 2: 1660–1679

Published in print: 1994

Published online: September 2012

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1 B 19: transfer of du Verdus office; de Tirac marriage contract

1 B 33: death of Jean Peleau

C 2326: Homages, 1663–4

C 3833: Peleau appointment

3 E 6772: Grégoire notarial records

3 E 12995: du Verdus will

G 572; resignation of de Mullet; de Gaufreteau document

G 662: 'Affaire Dejean'

G 807: de Mullet document

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C 309: inventory of royal domain archives

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II E 757: de Martel family documents

II E 765: Jean de Martel will and family documents

12 GG 12-19: Montauban baptismal registers

12 GG 50-6: Montauban funeral registers

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Drouyn 275: du Verdus family documents

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TT 254: procès-verbal of Dominique de Martel

TT 255: list of Montauban fugitives; Jean de Martel legacy

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Gal. 151: du Verdus to Torricelli

Gal. 286: **Letter 187, 188**

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MS 4471: Descartes, *Lettres*, ed. Clerselier, iii (annotated): **Letter 32**

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707: Gassendi, philosophical notes

709–10: Gassendi, philosophical notes

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f.fr. 3930: Sorbière, Morus to Saumaise

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f.fr. 12279>: Roberval optical treatise

f.fr. 17374–87: du Bosc reports

f.fr. 23253: Lantiniana

f.fr. n.a. 5160: **Letter 33**

f.fr. n.a. 5175: Roberval notes on refraction, geometry course

f.fr. n.a. 6204–5: Mersenne correspondence

f.fr. n.a. 6206: Mersenne correspondence, **Letter 34, 57, 60**

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f.l. n.a. 1637: Gassendi correspondence, **Letter 62**

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397/1-2; Montauban Academy, biographical index

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Douce f. 5: poem on Payne

Eng. hist. c. 5: Thomas Vaughan document

Lister 19: Lister, French travel notes

Lister 34: Brooke to Lister

Rawlinson C 232; **Letter 2, 28**

Rawlinson C 945: Barlow, reading list

Rawlinson D 1104: **Letters 1-3, 20, 23, 25-8**

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Ashmole 1818 (19): **Letter 197**, corrected

G 2. 5 Jur.: **Letter 197**, corrected

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Savile Q 9: Mydorge, *Conicorum operis libri quatuor*: Sir Charles Cavendish to Payne (tipped in)

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Savile V 13 (i): Gassendi, *De apparente magnitudine solis*: Payne annotations

Savile V 13 (ii): Gassendi, *De motu impresso*: Payne annotations

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Wood 423 (47): **Letter 197**, corrected

Wood 430 (2): **Letter 197**, corrected

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